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RACE CONTACT

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September, 1927

The Century Social Science Series

RACE CONTACT

BY

EARL EDWARD MUNTZ, PH.D.

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY



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**TO
MY WIFE**

PREFACE

The rapid dispersal of the Caucasian peoples throughout the inhabitable portions of the world during the past four or five centuries has been fraught with unfortunate consequences for the backward races of mankind. Primitive culture, with its less efficient organization and technique, has been no match for the irresistible force of European conquest and civilization. The economic pressure of the dominant nations demands that the aboriginal races be governed in the interests of the civilized world, that native lands be opened to settlement and their products made available to the world markets. Thus European law, together with the customs and usages of the more advanced nations, was thrust upon the primitive peoples. Theorists, missionaries and statesmen, holding nothing but contempt and impatience for the time-honored ways of the aborigines, sought to raise them overnight, as it were, to the cultural level of modern Europe. Moreover, the ethnocentric attitude of the white man has played a not insignificant rôle in race relations; success has only too often been measured by the thoroughness with which aboriginal cultures have been effaced or extirpated. Under such circumstances, with the entire framework of their indigenous social and political organizations toppling about them and no substitutes to lean upon for support, primitive societies have been left in a most chaotic state. Survival has depended solely upon the rapidity of adjustment to new life conditions.

It is only within recent years that the seriousness of the plight of the nature peoples has been realized and the world powers have taken upon themselves the self-imposed duty of preserving and developing the backward groups of the human family. But to fulfill that task with any degree of success, it is necessary to have some knowledge of the actual effects of contact between civilized man and the nature peoples and to observe the object lessons of past experience. Rapid adjustment cannot be expected by blindly following the trial and error process. Little scientific work has been done in this field—none covering the entire area of contact. This book is an attempt to satisfy that need. The aim has ever been in mind to portray in a scientific manner the social, economic and political consequences of contact between races of diverse cultural attainments in the

hope that such knowledge may prove of some value to those charged with the protection or education of native peoples.

I am deeply indebted to my friend and teacher, Professor A. G. Keller, for his constructive criticism and kindly guidance. Thanks are also due to Professor E. A. Ross for many helpful suggestions. My greatest obligations, however, are to my wife, whose sympathy, inspiration and assistance have contributed largely to make this book possible.

E. E. M.

INTRODUCTION

Race contact has been going on for countless ages, but certainly within no period of historic record has the world witnessed a more intense struggle between races of widely divergent culture than during the past four hundred years. Short as this period of time is in the course of societal evolution, it marks the closest and most widespread contact of the various families of man with one another and, in particular, of the more advanced and civilized races with the more backward and primitive societies. The present age signals the completion of a process by which all the races of the world have been affected, and the primitive ones relegated to a position of more or less complete dependence upon the more progressive. Those conditions which recent history has recorded are now vanishing and can never recur; the primitive races have passed almost completely under the influence and the control of the civilized world, and it is inconceivable that they can ever again relapse into their former isolation. The situation of the world to-day is that somewhat less than 300,000,000 of Christian white people—including British, French, Belgian, Dutch, American, Spanish, Portuguese and Italian—are directly or indirectly interfering with, or attempting to control over 900,000,000 Chinese, Tibetans, Indians, Malays, Papuans, Negritos, Melanesians, Polynesians, Arabs, Turks, Negroes and others.¹ But we cannot assert that this relationship will continue indefinitely; the races of the world are in a sort of flux and the struggle continues unabated, or rather, becomes more intense as some of the backward races, fortified with the weapons of civilization, regain their footing.

"That such a struggle between groups characterized by different codes of mores shall never cease is a matter which is settled in the order of the universe. The struggle for existence—the securing of a food supply—is in itself sufficient to assure conflict between organic beings of all grades. There will always be conflict where there are wants and insufficient means to satisfy all. And it is provided in human nature that wants multiply and diversify as they are about to be satisfied. And when the habit of association has been evolved, then the struggle is group-wise. Driven by their interests, groups of all sizes, from

¹ Johnston, Sir H. H., "The Backward Peoples and Our Relations with Them," pp. 6-10.

the race group down to the smallest, are always in conflict of some kind with their competitors. Their relations are those of latent hostility, or at best of antagonistic coöperation."²

The quotation just cited is sufficient to indicate that the contact of uncivilized and civilized races is one of the important problems of societal evolution. It embraces a great sweep of all the fundamental forces of human society. It brings to the forefront the dissimilarity of group mores, a fact of which a society is never conscious until its mores are brought in conflict with those of others.³ The result is that we have acculturation taking place on a grand scale between ethnic strains which are wholly dissimilar and unrelated, and which have lived under different life conditions. But the very presence of foreign race groups alters the conditions of life and necessitates adjustment on the part of one, or of both ethnic groups.

Much has been written concerning the customs and the habits of the backward races of mankind; and occasional observations plus a mass of inferences are to be found regarding the influence of the white race upon the colored peoples, but little scientific thought has been given to the problem. It is the purpose of this book to make a thorough study of the conditions surrounding the contact of races of varying cultural development, and to discover the economic and social consequences of those adjustments or maladjustments ensuing as a result thereof. In doing this particular attention has been given to the changing life conditions, the effect upon family and political life, the advantages or disadvantages accruing to the respective groups as a result of association, acculturation from the "higher" to the "lower" groups and vice versa, as well as the much-mooted question as to the survival of the inferior culture and its representatives.

On the part of the colored races in particular, it is to be noted that we are here dealing with a grand case of selection in the mores. Civilization places before them new methods and processes; the tests are generally immediate and clean-cut and the new ways are readily adopted; civilization also offers a new code of social and religious mores, but in this instance there is no decisive test and an intelligent selection of the new ways cannot take place. The advanced races, however, expect the primitive peoples to exercise the same rational selection in favor of all "civilized" mores, and proceed to force them upon the inferior races. Consequently the aborigines must take what we approve. Thus arises another problem of contact: can the backward races, suddenly forced through the process of a

²Keller, A. G., "Societal Evolution," pp. 56-7.

³Sumner, W. G., "Folkways," p. 78.

rapid evolution, consciously or unconsciously select those mores which represent the best adaptation under the circumstances? And further, are the more advanced Caucasians with their circumscribed code of mores able to look back upon an anterior civilization and prescribe what mores and customs should be selected by the backward races for a more perfect adjustment to their life conditions?

In order to get down to the most fundamental aspects—bed rock, as it were—of race contact, the field has been limited to the economic and social effects of association between the European races as the most advanced, and the American Indians, Pacific Islanders, and the Africans as representative of the more primitive and backward races.

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PART I
NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA

RACE CONTACT

CHAPTER I

RACE CONTACT AND THE EVOLUTION OF ECONOMIC CONCEPTS AMONG THE INDIANS

The arrival of the Spaniards in America, even in their relatively insignificant numbers, represented the first case in history of the permanent contact of the white race with another so widely separated in civilization as were the Indians, this contact taking place within the native environment of the "lower" race. Such a situation had never been faced by the Mediterranean colonizers; the Portuguese, it is true, had touched at various places in Africa and traded to India and the Malay region before this time, but never in sufficient numbers to create the conditions of real race contact; the ancients were restricted to a relatively small area of the globe and as civilized nations their principal contacts were with barbarous groups belonging to the same ethnic strain as they themselves. An exception might be cited in the recorded but apparently brief intercourse between the Carthaginians and the negroes on the west coast of Africa. "But the Spaniards found an ethnic strain, whatever its origin, which was new to the civilized world, and they lived beside it, moulded its life, and intermingled with it for many years and decades. To it they applied, instinctively or with conscientious consistency, a policy or lack of policy which was the outcome of their own separate Aryan, European, and local history. . . . So that we have in the Spanish colonies, if we care so to view the situation, the first historical meeting, upon a scale that deserves the name, of two of the great varieties or sub-species of the genus *Homo*."¹

The aims and ideals of the Spaniards with respect to the territories opened to them by the discoveries of Columbus are summarized in somewhat extravagant terms by Martins: "Men thought of the millions of souls to be won for God! Of the mountains of gold to bring home! Of the great battles, the vast kingdoms to conquer! They saw all the crosses, commanderies, riches, captaincies and glory. This shower of fortunate

¹ Keller, A. G., "Colonization," p. 257.

possibilities fell upon a nation in the plenitude of life, in the meridian of force, and in the ardor of faith. All the future captains of the Indies were formed in that moment. Columbus revolutionized the anterior direction of the current of national genius, directing it to that world which he discovered."² The driving forces in Spanish conquest were personal adventure and self-aggrandizement. Few of the Iberian explorers possessed those qualities which raised them above the type of poor and ignorant soldiers of fortune. Exploitation was the key to the activities of the *conquistadores*; the spread of the Faith and colonization were supplementary to the acquisition of the wealth of the New World.

If we contrast the immigrants from Spain with the Anglo-Saxon colonists in North America, as well as the native races with which each had to deal, it becomes evident that different results are to be anticipated from the contacts taking place. The Indians of Mexico and Peru were largely of a sedentary, semi-civilized type, ready and willing to continue the labor to which they had been inured for centuries, while the aborigines of the north were migratory, intractable savages living in the hunting stage and unaccustomed to the persistent and steady application of labor which characterizes a relatively high state of culture. The Puritans, moreover, had but little desire to spread their religion among the Indians, and, finding themselves in a climate similar to that of their native habitat and being of peasant stock, nothing was more natural than that they should constitute their own labor force. On the other hand, the Spaniards in the south were imbued with the idea of exploitation and the spirit of religious conquest; they were neither desirous nor able to perform manual labor in those unsuitable tropical climates, and looked to the natives to supply the necessary labor force.³

The ideals of the French were in sharp contrast to those both of the Puritans and of the Spaniards. It was felt that the promotion of commerce and of national expansion should be left primarily in the hands of the clergy.

"The foundations of French dominion were to be laid deep in the heart and conscience of the savage. His stubborn neck was to be subdued to the 'yoke of the Faith.' The power of the priest established, that of the temporal ruler was secure. The sanguinary hordes, weaned from intestine strife, were to unite in a common allegiance to God and to the King. Mingled with French traders and French settlers, softened by French manners, guided by French priests, ruled by French officers, their now divided bands would become the

² Martins, J. P. O., "Historia da Civilização Iberica," p. 238. (Quoted by Keller, A. G., "Colonization," p. 175.)

³ Thompson, Wallace, "The People of Mexico," p. 30.

constituents of a vast wilderness empire, which in time might span the continent. Spanish civilization crushed the Indian; English civilization scorned and neglected him; French civilization embraced and cherished him."⁴

In every case it is apparent that economic motives served as the most potent cause for permanent contact with the natives of America. It is most readily observable with the Spaniards in their quest for the precious metals, but the early English were influenced by the same strange fascination of the alluring gold. Indeed, from the time of the voyages of the Cabots at the close of the fifteenth century to the explorations of Gilbert and the unfortunate colonization schemes of Raleigh and Gosnold during the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the main objects sought were gold and silver. In fact, the first settlers at Jamestown were so much more desirous of mining than of planting that only the direst suffering and certain starvation could force them to till the soil while there was any hope of discovering mines of the precious metals.⁵ It is perhaps not properly realized what an important part gold has played throughout the course of history in bringing together races of higher and lower culture, not alone in the remote past, but within the recent generations in California, Alaska, Australia, and Africa.⁶

Although the French were largely dominated by economic incentives in their early contact, these were obscured by religious motives which were thought of as a means to an end—the building of a great empire in the wilderness. With the Spaniards religion played a subordinate rôle as a cause of contact for, "with the disappointing encounter with a primitive race, and with the scent of precious metals to disconcert the situation, the unscrupulous discoverers threw off the mantle of religion, or rather adapted it to new purposes; these as yet good-natured islanders should be used in getting gold, for, after all, they were conquered, and were likewise about to owe their salvation to their lords."⁷ Evangelization can scarcely be said to have encouraged contact between the red man and the Briton.

EARLY TRADE AND COMMERCE

There were but few aboriginal tribes in America which were not acquainted with trade and exchange in some manner or other. The state in which Columbus first found the natives would indicate that those particular tribes possessed no knowledge of reciprocal exchange for he says,

⁴ Parkman, Francis, "The Jesuits in North America," I, 131-2.

⁵ Johnson, E. R., "History of Domestic and Foreign Commerce," I, 17.

⁶ Perry, W. J., "The Children of the Sun," p. 56.

⁷ Keller, A. G., "Colonization," p. 239.

"I gave them of all that I had, such as cloth, and many other things, without receiving anything in return; but they are, as I have described, incurably timid. It is true that when they are reassured, and have thrown off this fear, they are guileless, and so liberal of all they have, that no one would believe it who had not seen it. They never refuse anything that they possess when it is asked of them; on the contrary, they offer it themselves, and they exhibit so much loving-kindness that they would even give their hearts; and, whether it be something of value or of little worth that is offered to them, they are satisfied.

"I forbade that worthless things, such as pieces of broken glass, and ends of straps, should be given to them; although, when they succeeded in obtaining them, they thought they possessed the finest jewel in the world. . . . They took even bits of the broken hoops of the wine barrels, and gave, like fools, all that they possessed in exchange, insomuch that I thought it was wrong and forbade it. I gave away a thousand good and pretty articles which I had brought with me, in order to win their affections, and that they might be led to become Christians and be well inclined to love and serve their Highnesses and the whole Spanish nation, and that they might aid us by giving us things of which we stand in need, and which they possess in abundance."⁹

The Eskimo are said to have been quite without knowledge of commercial exchange before contact with peoples of higher culture.⁹ To the same effect Cook, on his first voyage, relates that the Indians of Tierra del Fuego, when taken on board his vessel, expressed no curiosity or wonderment at the vast array of new objects which presented themselves. No desires of an economic nature seemed to exist. When offered a choice between knives, hatchets, or beads, they much preferred the latter.¹⁰ However, at the time of his second voyage he states that the Fuegians were well acquainted with trade, and were found in possession of European knives.¹¹

In general, the American tribes had a much better knowledge of exchange than the Polynesians and Australians. This is undoubtedly owing to the fact that there was available to the various groups of Indians a far wider variety of natural resources. Thus in California the Achomawi carried on a regular exchange with the Witun, offering skins for beads, and in turn traded beads to the Modoc for furs and bows.¹² In Guiana each tribe specializes in some manufacture peculiar to itself, and its members constantly visit the other tribes, often hostile, for the purpose of exchanging the products of their own labor for such as are produced

⁹ Lindsay, W. S., "History of Merchant Shipping and Ancient Commerce," I, 579-80.

¹⁰ Letourneau, Ch., "L'évolution du commerce," p. 26.

¹¹ Cook, Jas., "First Voyage" (Hawkesworth's), II, 44, 56.

¹² Cook, Jas., "Second Voyage," II, 183.

¹³ Dixon, R. B., "Notes on the Achomawi and Atsugewi Indians," in *American Anthropologist*, vol. X (N. S.), p. 215.

only by the other tribes. These trading Indians are allowed to pass unmolested through the enemy's country.¹³ Likewise the natives of Nootka Sound traded with distant tribes in the articles obtained from Cook's men.¹⁴ Further examples might be added without number to show that the concept of exchange was generally well understood among the natives of North and South America.

Barter was the usual mode of exchange found among the Indians, and this continued to be the accepted form in their transactions with the white men, inasmuch as no common medium of exchange acceptable to both groups existed. Many of the primitive tribes had advanced no further than to conduct all exchanges by silent trade or dumb barter. Thus the Russians, when first they trafficked with the Kamchatka, were compelled to deposit their goods and then retreat, whereupon the natives came upon the scene and left their goods. It was then the duty of the Russian merchant to carry off what the Indian had left as a price good, or take back his own wares. All direct contact between the negotiants was avoided.¹⁵ The same custom prevailed in what is now British Columbia,¹⁶ and also in New Mexico where the natives of the Rio del Norte, in seeking to trade with the whites, often planted along the road leading from Chihuahua to Santa Fé little crosses, to each of which they attached a leathern bag and a small piece of venison. At the foot of the cross was spread a buffalo skin. By these signs the natives indicated that they wished to trade by way of barter with the soldiers of the *presidios*. The Spaniards, who understood this language of signs, took the skins and left salted meat in exchange.¹⁷

A somewhat similar mode of trade was encountered in Chili where the Spanish traders were forced to go directly to the chief and make him a present. He thereupon summoned his people who looked over the merchant's wares, selected what they desired, mirrors, needles, knives, etc., and then carried the goods to their homes. Then finally, when the merchant wished to depart, a new convocation was called by the chief and the natives delivered their own goods as agreed.¹⁸ In Brazil, according to Hans Stade, two or three native canoes would deliver the goods to the Portuguese vessel. While the canoes were near the ship the natives would declare what

¹³ Im Thurn, E. F., "Among the Indians of Guiana," p. 271.

¹⁴ Cook, Jas., "Third Voyage," II, 278-9.

¹⁵ Letourneau, Ch., "L'évolution du commerce," p. 26.

¹⁶ Letourneau, Ch., "L'évolution de la propriété," p. 471.

¹⁷ von Humboldt, A., "Essai politique sur le royaume de Nouvelle-Espagne," II, 408-9.

¹⁸ Lafiteau, le père, "Moeurs, coutumes et religions des sauvages américains," II, 113.

they wished in exchange, and a large number of full canoes would keep in the offing to look on. After the transactions were completed the natives would approach alongside in order to skirmish with the Portuguese, and shoot arrows at them; then they would paddle away.¹⁹

As suggested in the foregoing illustrations it is usual to find considerable formality on the part of the aborigines in bartering with the whites. Thus when the Hurons paid their annual trading visit to the French it was in a very formal way. On the first day the Indians built their huts; on the second the chiefs and the principal men, together with a crowd of younger warriors, assembled in the fort to form a council-circle to which the French officers had been invited; on the third and fourth they bartered their furs and tobacco for kettles, hatchets, knives, cloth, beads, iron arrow heads, coats and other commodities; on the fifth day they were feasted by the French and at daybreak of the next morning they embarked and vanished like a flock of birds.²⁰

In contrast to the numerous cases of tribal revenue derived from customs levied upon goods in transit or upon traders for the right of passage among the African tribes, it is interesting to note that in both North and South America there are but few suggestions of such an income. Lafiteau mentions a tribe in Chili which demanded a fee from traders for right of passage.²¹ The Foxes made it a point, whenever a trader's boat approached, to place a torch upon the bank as a signal for the traders to come ashore and pay the customary tribute which they exacted from all. Refusal was sure to incur their displeasure, and the loss of the merchant's goods would be the mildest penalty inflicted.²² Such examples, however, are the exception. This is probably owing to the fact that few American tribes were so well organized as the African and represented a somewhat lower stage of culture, while those which originally stood upon a higher cultural plane, such as the Mexicans and Peruvians, were crushed by the Spaniards in the early days of contact.

Although some native tribes seem to have passed beyond the stage of barter and to have adopted a medium of exchange among themselves, it was always of a limited nature and scarcely approximates our concept of a true currency. The Chinooks employed shells (*hiaqua*) strung on cords, the length of which determined their value.²³ Other tribes in California

¹⁹ Burton, R. F., "The Captivity of Hans Stade" (Hakluyt, vol. LI), p. 88.

²⁰ Parkman, Francis, "The Jesuits in North America," I, 134.

²¹ Lafiteau, le père, "Moeurs, coutumes et religions des sauvages américains," II, 113.

²² Handbook of the American Indians, B. A. E., Bull. 30, pt. I, 473.

²³ Bancroft, H. H., "Native Races of the Pacific States," I, 239.

had several standard varieties of shells which passed as money. Since all hands and arms are not the same length it was necessary for the natives to establish values by definite rule. Thus it was customary for the Indian to have a set of lines tattooed on the inside of the left forearm. These lines indicated the length of five shells of the several standards. This shell money was carried in special elk-horn boxes.²⁴ On the Amazon cacao and vanilla beans were gathered and were employed as a medium of exchange in dealing with Europeans, but the individual unit did not serve as an object of definite worth.²⁵ Bags of cacao consisting of a specified number of grains, transparent quills of gold dust and bits of tin cut in the form of a T served as currency among the Mexicans.²⁶

In the American colonies the settlers took over the prevailing currency found among the Indian tribes with whom they traded. Furs had a definite value because of the steady demand in Europe; wampum, as long as there were Indians. Consequently we find the colonial legislatures adopting the barbarians' standards as legal media of exchange. Thus Massachusetts set the value of wampum at six beads to a penny acceptable in payment of any sum under 12 d., and in 1641 wampum was made full legal tender for all sums less than £10. Even judgments of the court were payable in wampum and the inventories of deceased colonists were recorded in that currency. The same was true of the Dutch in New York, and wampum was the principal currency in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. It did not disappear as the accepted unit of exchange until the Indians ceased to produce furs in large quantities. Thus the extended use of wampum was a direct consequence of an intimate commercial intercourse between the white and the red man.²⁷

The use of money in the form of skins was introduced among the Omaha by the traders. The smallest unit of value was the raccoon skin rated at twenty-five cents. Other prices in terms of the above unit were: buffalo, 15—20 (raccoon skins); otter, 12—15; mink, 2—5; and beaver, 4—6. Comparatively little trading was done for cash. Business continued on a barter basis until the destruction of the fur-bearing animals brought the old-time trader's career to an end.²⁸ Pelts were used on the Atlantic coast side by side with wampum, and in Canada became the basis of all

²⁴ Handbook of the American Indians, B. A. E., Bull. 30, pt. I, 447.

²⁵ von Martius, Carl F., "Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerikas," I, 91-2.

²⁶ Prescott, W. H., "The Conquest of Mexico," I, 145-6.

²⁷ Weedon, W. B., "Economic and Social History of New England," I, 38-42.

²⁸ Fletcher, A. C., and La Flesche, F., "The Omaha Tribe," in 27th Annual Report, B. A. E. (1905-6), p. 617.

trade between the French and the Indians. In 1670 a beaver skin was worth a fathom of tobacco, a fourth of a pound of powder or six knives. Beaver skins constituted the standard of value among the Kansa, Oto and Osage, but with the rapid encroachments of the white settlers this standard soon passed into desuetude. However, in the great fur regions of Canada it remained the basis of value, first between French and Indians, and afterward between English and Indians. Up to the present time everything is valued in "skins," meaning beaver skins, but the unit has come to bear a fixed value of fifty cents in Canadian money.²⁹

As is usual with peoples on a low stage of culture, the trade goods offering the greatest attraction were those which appealed to the vanity of the person. This is especially true in the early days of commercial intercourse. The reason for this is that the native saw a practical use for such trinkets in that they distinguished him among his fellows, whereas the tools and the implements appertaining to a higher culture, and whose use was still foreign to him, commanded no value in his eyes. In the Yukon River region *hya-cua* shells were most highly esteemed for fringes and head ornaments; both the fur companies on the river took advantage of this fact and traded extensively in them.³⁰ The principal trade goods offered by the French trafficking in Brazil were composed of pieces of cloth, mirrors, beads and other trinkets.³¹ Innumerable examples might be added, if space permitted, to show the close correlation existing between vanity and trade with reference to contact between races of different culture.

The eagerness with which the aborigines part with valuable commodities in exchange for worthless trifles is ground for the common notion that savages have no concept whatever of the relative values of various goods. Thus some of the natives of the Yukon district were reported as so unsophisticated that they would accept anything offered in exchange for their provisions.³² The explanation, however, is not that the native lacks the power of valuation, but that, belonging to a different culture, unacquainted with the use of the white man's goods, and there existing a scarcity of all manner of commodities offered by the higher cultural group, such articles as trinkets whose use for ornamentation was quite apparent to uncivilized man would command an unusual value in relation to those goods which

²⁹ Handbook of the American Indians, B. A. E., Bull. 30, pt. I, 447-8.

³⁰ Whympers, F., "The Natives of the Yukon River," in Transactions of the Ethnol. Soc. of London, VII (N. S.), p. 178.

³¹ Pigeonneau, H., "Histoire du commerce de la France," II, 136-7.

³² Whympers, F., "The Natives of the Yukon River," in Transactions of the Ethnol. Soc. of London, VII (N. S.), p. 179.

we esteem most highly. The variation between the relative estimates of the Indian and the white man is, then, a result of differences in time, place and culture. All trade is nothing more than the mutual attempt to seek a profit from one another.³³

That the valuations ascribed to commodities by the Indians varied directly with the quantities available and the knowledge of their uses can be seen from the following quotation from Bancroft:

"The demand for certain articles of trade by the natives, especially among the Thlinkets, was subject to continuous changes. When Marchand arrived in Norfolk Sound he found the savages disposed to drive hard bargains, and skins could not be obtained for trifles. Tin and copper vessels and cooking utensils were in request, as well as lances and sabres, but prime sea-otters could be purchased only with European clothing of good quality, and Marchand was obliged to sacrifice all his extra supplies of clothing for the crew. The natives seemed at that time, 1791, to have plenty of European goods, mostly of English manufacture. . . . They were nearly all dressed in European clothing and familiar with fire-arms. Hammers, saws, and axes they valued but little."³⁴

Once the saturation point has been reached for trinkets and ornaments, the continuation of trade with the aborigines is dependent upon creating a demand for commodities which are conducive to the material welfare of the primitive peoples. Thus the principal trade goods sought by the Central Eskimo came to consist of cooking pots, lamps, matches, coffee, tobacco, bread and goods of like nature.³⁵ The natives about Bering Strait traded for tobacco, drilling, knives and ammunition. They were especially anxious to buy whiskey and cartridges.³⁶

As soon as the native learned the values ascribed to pelts by the white traders and gained some knowledge of the value of the white man's goods relative to that of furs, he became a much harder man to deal with. For example, the naturally shrewd and overbearing Thlinkets were not slow to become the most exacting and unscrupulous traders. Prices rose to such an extent that no profit could be made except by deceiving them as to the value of the goods given in barter. In many instances, where the

³³ Gumplowicz, L., in "Sociologie und Politik," p. 82, expresses it thus: "Die Geschichte der Handelsverträge ist nicht anderes als die Darstellung der Versuche der gegenseitigen friedlichen Ausbeutung der Nationen oder wenn man will, der friedlichen Kämpfe um einen aus den gegenseitigen Verkehrshältnissen zu ziehen den Mehrerwerb."

³⁴ Bancroft, H. H., "History of the Pacific States," XXVIII, 246.

³⁵ Boas, Franz, "The Central Eskimo," in 6th Annual Report, B. A. E. (1884-5), p. 467.

³⁶ Nelson, E. W., "The Eskimo About Bering Strait," in 18th Annual Report, B. A. E. (1896-7), p. 231.

trader intended to make but a brief stay, a worthless article was palmed off upon the native, who, in his turn, would retaliate by imposing upon or stealing from the next trader.⁸⁷ In Alaska the fur trade tended to fall into regular grooves, the Russians paying fixed prices to the natives. But when foreign traders appeared upon the scene the Kaljush, relying upon their constant intercourse with English and American traders, refused to be reduced to routine and system and maintained a very independent attitude, demanding and securing much higher rates for their furs than surrounding tribes.⁸⁸

The influence of white culture was felt, not alone upon those natives who enjoyed direct contact with the Caucasian, but also upon those who had never seen a white man. The Arikara, for example, acted as middlemen between the white traders and interior tribes, obtaining furs from the latter in exchange for articles which had been secured from the Caucasians. The Chilkat and the Chilkoot even now act as middlemen in the fur trade between the whites and the Indian tribes.⁸⁹

Time has little or no value to the native. This is well illustrated in his deliberation and delay in concluding a bargain. For example,

"A man would bring in a bunch of dried fish, throw it on the floor, and then stand about as if he had no interest in anything going on, until asked what he wished; when the regular price was offered he would almost invariably refuse, and then a long talk would ensue, which ended either by his accepting what was offered, or by taking away the fish. This slowness is common with these people.

"I was at a trading station on the head of Norton bay one winter when a Malenut Chief wished to exchange some reindeer skins for various articles. It was in the evening, and after prolonged haggling and changing one article for another, which lasted until 3 o'clock next morning, half a dozen skins were finally bought from him. We retired and were hardly in bed before the man came back to exchange for other goods some of the things which he had taken. Finally the trader put him off until next day, when he again occupied a couple of hours before he was satisfied." ⁹⁰

The improvidence of the natives has often proved to be the means of forcing them to work to a much greater extent than they ordinarily would to satisfy their immediate needs. The fur companies and traders took advantage of periods of famine and furnished the simple Aleuts with supplies. A little assistance of this sort was always considered as a lien upon

⁸⁷ Bancroft, H. H., "History of the Pacific States," XXVIII, 247-8.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, XXVIII, 240-1, 398-9.

⁸⁹ Handbook of the American Indians, B. A. E., Bull. 30, pt. I, 479.

⁹⁰ Nelson, E. W., "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," in 18th Annual Report, B. A. E. (1896-7), pp. 230-1.

whatever furs the recipients of the trader's bounty might collect during the following season.⁴¹ On the other hand, peculiar local customs may tend to retard the development of commerce with the savages. Thus the habit of borrowing whatever one wishes from his neighbor without the necessity of repayment has the certain effect of curtailing individual incentive.⁴² This communistic idea is prevalent among a large number of Indian and Eskimo tribes.

By way of résumé, it is apparent that the majority of the American aborigines were well acquainted with trade, and that the manufacture of specialties and the bartering of such with other tribes was a matter of common occurrence. Barter was the usual mode of exchange, silent trade being carried on by a few of the more backward tribes. Contact with white traders, however, tended to break down the old customs and conventions with respect to trade and led to more free and easy means of negotiation. The intercourse between the red and the white man tended to establish the currency of the former in the shape of wampum or beaver skins upon a definite basis as a medium of exchange, thus developing a money economy in the modern sense of the word among the aborigines. The unreasonably high values imputed to worthless articles of adornment by the savage are not attributable to inability on the part of the native to distinguish between and evaluate goods, but owing to the fact that the aboriginal American stands in a different environment and assigns values in accord with the prospective uses of the goods offered and their relative scarcity in comparison to his own products.

⁴¹ Bancroft, H. H., "History of the Pacific States," XXVIII, 237.

⁴² Letourneau, Ch., "L'évolution du commerce," p. 18.

CHAPTER II

CIVILIZATION AND ITS EFFECT ON INDIAN CHARACTER

No better expression of a widespread opinion concerning the virtues of the primitive races of America, free from the contaminating influence of European civilization, could be found than the following preamble to the will of one of Spain's early *conquistadores*:

"Lejesama, with his will proved in the city of Cuzco on the 15th of November, 1589, before Geronimo Sanchez de Quesada, public notary—"First, before beginning my will, I declare that I have desired much to give notice to his Catholic Majesty king Philip, our lord, seeing how good a Catholic and Christian he is, and how zealous in the service of the Lord our God, concerning that which I would relieve my mind of, by reason of having taken part in the discovery and conquest of these countries, which we took from the Lords Yncas, and placed under the royal crown, a fact which is known to his Catholic Majesty. The said Yncas governed in such a way that in all the land neither a thief, nor vicious man, nor a bad dishonest woman was known. The men all had honest and profitable employment. The woods, and mines, and all kinds of property were so divided that each man knew what belonged to him, and there were no lawsuits. The Yncas were feared, obeyed, and respected by their subjects, as a race very capable of governing; but we took away their land, and placed it under the crown of Spain, and made them subjects. Your Majesty must understand that my reason for making this statement is to relieve my conscience, for we have destroyed this people by our bad examples. Crimes were once so little known among them, that an Indian with one hundred thousand pieces of gold and silver in his house, left it open, only placing a little stick across the door, as the sign that the master was out, and nobody went in. But when they saw that we placed locks and keys on our doors, they understood that it was from fear of thieves, and when they saw that we had thieves amongst us, they despised us. All this I tell your Majesty, to discharge my conscience of a weight, that I may no longer be a party to these things. And I pray God to pardon me, for I am the last to die of all the discoverers and conquerors, as it is notorious that there are none left but me, in this land or out of it, and therefore I now do what I can to relieve my conscience." ¹

This old Spaniard viewed the native society of Peru as an outsider, a member of another culture group, and at a point of time distant enough to

¹ "The Travels of Cieza de Leon" (tr. Markham, C. R.), p. xxxiii (Calancha, lib. i, cap. 15, p. 98).

lend enchantment to the notion that the societies owing allegiance to the Incas were once possessed of all the qualities and virtues idealized by our own civilization. It is the same to-day; there is a prevalent concept that the American Indian was one of the noblest of men, and that he suffered a moral downfall as a direct result of association with the white man.

Let us now consider a few of the alleged defects in native character, as judged by our own code, and determine to what extent these shortcomings may be attributed to the white man's influence.

It is frequently asserted that the aborigine was of the most tractable sort, hospitable, honest, naïve and truthful in his pristine state, and continued so at the time of early contact until the misdeeds and the over-reaching of the white man placed evil habits before him which were soon imitated and acquired. Thus the virtues of primitive man disintegrated into the vices of civilization.

Now, as a matter of fact, hospitality in aboriginal societies was limited to members of the individual group, and to those persons belonging to other clans or tribes which maintained marital, commercial, or military relationships with it. Hospitality was a characteristic of the peace group, just as it is to-day. The savage extended the privileges of hospitality to the early white man for various reasons; he accepted him into his own peace group in accord with custom the same as a member of any other friendly tribe. The Caucasian represented a race type which was entirely strange and foreign to the Indian. With an inadequate stock of knowledge and faith, and with utter dependence upon the supernatural, it is little wonder that the aborigines thought the white horsemen were centaurs, and stood aghast to see the beast and man parts separate themselves. And, as is well known, the Spaniards were regarded as beings of a divine nature, come in accordance with an ancient promise of their god Quetzalcoatl. The Bahama Islanders are said to have regarded the white faced, bearded Spaniards as messengers from the oversea heaven of their ancestors, come to take them with them. Furthermore, the guns, clothing and equipment of the Spaniards imposed upon the superstitions of the natives to such an extent as to gain for the former a ready welcome and subservience on the part of the Indians.² To a greater or less extent this same scene was enacted wherever the aborigines first came in contact with the pale faces and accounts for their extreme friendliness; it would be dangerous not to do homage to the gods.

Putting aside the unusual conditions of the earliest contact, commerce and trade accounted largely for the amiable and hospitable behavior of

² Zimmerman, A., "Die Europäischen Kolonien," I, 270.

many tribes toward the white man. He brought within their reach the most desired products of civilization—liquor, firearms, and other trade goods of scarcely less importance to the savage, such as knives, axes, kettles and cotton goods. White men possessing the accoutrements of civilized warfare, before such became common in the hands of the natives, were always welcome, for it was unusual that a tribe did not have an enemy against whom the assistance of the powerful visitor was sought. Thus in 1637 the Narragansetts invoked the aid of the colonists against the powerful Pequots;³ and the Algonkins were ever solicitous of French help against their archenemy, the Iroquois.

The fact that the American Indian had no concept of private ownership of land might also be adduced as one of the reasons for his passivity when the earliest settlers came to live beside him. He recognized the right of private property only in movables and chattels; land was plentiful and free to all; therefore it was nothing to him that the white man chose to occupy his country until the presence of the latter, with his habitations and enclosures, interfered with the Indian's livelihood by scaring off the game. The peace group was gradually contracted, and the red man looked upon the Caucasian as a member of a foreign group whose interests were incompatible with his own. And therewith the old-time hospitality ceased.

Let us now consider the much mooted question as to whether association with the European and the colonist has taught the American aborigine an utter disregard for truth and honesty, or whether such disregard is characteristic of the native. In order to judge fairly of this matter let us get a few cases before us.

The Tarahumare while in his native state, according to Lumholtz, never cheats at bargains. If he has anything to sell that is in any way defective he always draws attention to the flaw, and if a jar has any imperfection, it requires much persuasion to make him part with it. "Often I trusted Indians with a silver dollar or two for corn to be delivered a few days later, and never was I disappointed by them."⁴ Le Clercq cites a very interesting report coming from one of the Recollect Fathers at Tadoussac:

"I remarked a great trait of justice in their chief. After we made peace he complained that we sold our goods too dear when the Indians came to trade, and he asked that they should be sold cheaper in the future. Our factor for the merchants, seeing his importunity, told him that he would sell cheaper to him but not to the rest. This Indian then began to say to this factor in a disdainful way: 'You make fun of me to say that you will sell cheap to me

³Weeden, W. B., "Economic and Social History of New England," I, 24.

⁴Lumholtz, Carl, "Unknown Mexico," I, 244.

and dear to my people. If I did so I should deserve to be hung and beheaded by my people. I am a chief; I do not speak for myself; I speak for my people.' This I witnessed."⁶

The Eskimo at Cape Thompson were most eager to trade with Beechey's men and, although they were exceptionally good at driving hard bargains, they were found to be very honest, extremely good-natured, and friendly.⁶ Old experienced traders among the Indians have frequently asserted that they lost less money on long-standing accounts, aggregating large sums, than in their comparatively small dealings with the white people in their neighborhood. One successful trader among the Sioux, who in the early nineties lent some \$30,000 to his Indian neighbors in anticipation of a payment they were soon to receive from the government, in commenting upon the integrity of the natives said, "I did not lose more than \$150 on the whole transaction, and that I lost from a half-breed who did not live on the reservation."⁷ The Navaho is reported to be honest and reliable in his dealings with the white man, but like most people, of whatever race, he aims to get as great a return as possible.⁸ The Slave and Dog-rib Indians encountered by Mackenzie showed no disposition to purloin anything, although they grew so familiar that it was hard to keep them out of the tents belonging to the members of the party.⁹ The Tupis held most things with the exception of their wives and children in common. Thus they had little to quarrel about and theft was unknown. Says Burton, "In the wild parts of Brazil, upon the Ribeira d'Iguape, for instance, when I first travelled (1865), boxes might be left open without the least danger. But a little leavening of colonists from the Southern States of the North American Union so changed the social state, that next year locks and padlocks would not keep out the pilfering finger."¹⁰

Many additional cases might be cited where aborigines, having had little to do with races of superior culture, are reported as very honest and reliable, but it must be remembered, on the other hand, that examples are quite as numerous where natives, little touched by civilization, are represented as accomplished rogues. Thus the people of the islands and shore of Bering Strait and Kotzebue Sound were notorious among the

⁶ Le Clercq, Father Christian (tr. Shea, J. G.), "First Establishment of the Faith in New France," I, 136.

⁷ Beechey, Capt. F. W., "Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait," p. 226.

⁸ Leupp, F. E., "The Indian and His Problem," pp. 11-2.

⁹ Hrdlicka, Ales, "Observations on the Navaho," in *American Anthropologist*, vol. II (N. S.), p. 343.

¹⁰ Mackenzie, Sir Alexander, "Voyages—and an Account of the Fur Trade," I, 31.

¹¹ Burton, R. F., "The Captivity of Hans Stade" (*Hakluyt*, vol. LI), p. 136, note.

trading vessels for pilfering. On several occasions the villagers of Cape Prince of Wales fairly took possession of vessels with small crews and walked off with whatever they desired.¹¹ The Indians of Prince William Sound, says Portlock, seemed to think it a disgrace to be clumsy and caught in the act of stealing; it was a virtue to be successful and undetected. At Cook's River the natives were most audacious thieves, and "what was very remarkable, even the little boys were furnished with small hooked sticks for the purpose of picking pockets."¹² The Eskimo near Cape Smythe annoyed Beechey considerably by their high-handed methods. After a bargain had been transacted they would insist upon having more for their articles, and one of them, having obtained some tobacco that was offered for a lance, refused to deliver up either.¹³

The Indians of Nootka Sound traded with the strictest honesty when Cook first visited them, but with longer acquaintance these same people became dangerous thieves. One would amuse the boat-keeper while his companions were stealing whatever was within reach. Cook excused their acts in part by attributing such knavery to childish curiosity. The aborigines frequently cheated in selling animal oil by mixing it with water.¹⁴ That the Indian neighbors of the New England colonists had no particular reputation for honesty can readily be seen from such laws as the one of 1666 enacted by Rhode Island to the effect that no Indian could keep a hog with cutmarks in its ears, nor could any one sell a sheep, swine, or other skin without the ears under severe penalties. The inference is plain—the Indians would steal pigs if they could, and the colonists thus prevented placing temptation before them.¹⁵ The Macusis Indians possessed a noticeable tendency to steal small objects, but things of importance were usually left alone.¹⁶ The Indians in the region of La Plata, Daireaux observes, could not be civilized, and from hunters of wild animals they became hunters of domesticated animals; it was easier and more profitable to steal than to trade or to domesticate animals.¹⁷

From the foregoing examples it is evident that there is no justification for drawing a hard and fast generalization that intercourse with the white man caused the native to lose his natural honesty and truthfulness. The

¹¹ Nelson, E. W., "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," in 18th Annual Report, B. A. E. (1806-7), p. 299.

¹² Portlock, Nathaniel, "A Voyage Round the World," pp. 114, 222, 249.

¹³ Beechey, Capt. F. W., "Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait," p. 263.

¹⁴ Cook, Jas., "Third Voyage," II, 270-2, 279.

¹⁵ Weedon, W. B., "Economic and Social History of New England," I, 29.

¹⁶ Blake, R. H., "Notes on the Rio Alto Branco, North Amazonas," in *Royal Geographic Journal*, vol. XLVII (May, 1916), p. 367.

¹⁷ Daireaux, E., "La vie et les mœurs à la Plata," I, 52.

fact is that the Indian has been brought up in accord with a code of mores peculiar to his own individual group. That code prescribes and regulates the rights and duties of every member to his fellow men; it applies only to those who belong to the tribe, or to other groups which are related by commercial, marital or other ties tending to bind them together. Outsiders are not protected, for the code does not extend to them. A few examples will serve to illustrate this point.

The Patagonians are described as haughty, independent, faithful to their promises made between one another, and obliging to each other in their mutual relations. But toward Christians, that is, members of the "out group," they are false, deceitful, rancorous and dishonorable, "for they are educated to be thieves."¹⁸ Here it is clearly a case of two different codes of conduct applying—one to fellow-members of the local group, the other to non-members. To the Eskimo the foreigner is outside the pale of the law; in their eyes no wrong is committed in deceiving a stranger; rather, it is an honorable action, and a clever thief preying upon outsiders is greatly admired by the members of his clan.¹⁹ Among the natives of Bering Strait, "Stealing from people of the same village or tribe is regarded as wrong. The thief is made ashamed by being talked to in the *kashim* [assembly] when all the people are present, and in this way is frequently forced to restore the articles he has stolen . . . To steal from a stranger or from people of another tribe is not considered wrong so long as it does not bring trouble on the community. The Eskimo living about the trading stations have adopted some ideas in regard to this matter from the whites. As a result of this, coupled with the memory of some wholesome chastisements that have followed theft at various times, the property of white men is tolerably safe in most places."²⁰ What happened was a forcible enlargement of the peace group to include the white men at the trading station.

In this connection it is also interesting to note that the Unalit display a curious, innate distrust of all strangers, and when asked to do anything for white men always insist upon pay in advance. In the same way they would hesitate and even refuse to give white men any articles of value to be paid for at another time; but, on the other hand, it was a constant practice among them to seek credit at the trading stations, to be paid when

¹⁸ Hutchinson, T. J., "The Tehuelche Indians of Patagonia," in Transactions of the Ethnol. Soc. of London, VII (N. S.), p. 321.

¹⁹ Bancroft, H. H., "Native States of the Pacific," II, 64. (Quoted by Letourneau, Ch., "L'évolution du commerce," p. 16.)

²⁰ Nelson, E. W., "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," in 18th Annual Report, B. A. E. (1896-7), pp. 293-4.

they should have procured the necessary skins. In such matters, however, they were very honest, paying all debts contracted in this way. It is curious, too, that very often the same Eskimo who would be perfectly honest and go to great trouble to meet his obligations would not hesitate to steal from the trader who had trusted him.²¹ The Tarahumare are extremely chary of selling anything to a stranger, and will even deny that they have anything to sell. Whenever a Tarahumare is actually induced to part with any of his belongings, he does so with the attitude of conferring a great favor upon the buyer. A purchase, however, seems to serve as a medium to draw the stranger into the "we group," for it establishes a kind of brotherhood between the two negotiants who afterward call each other *naranagua*.²²

Ratzel is inclined to think that the encroachments of the white man upon the game preserves of the Indian, thus reducing his means of subsistence, are in large part responsible for the greater ratio of crime committed by natives upon members of the "out group" than upon their fellow tribesmen who, of course, come under the protection and regulation of the native societal code. "What the agriculturalist or the stock breeder wrings for himself by the sweat of his brow is regarded by these nomads as legitimate booty. Thousands of Indians in Texas and Mexico lived by robbery exclusively."²³ In this connection it is to be noted that what we conventionally call dishonesty was introduced to the Indian with the rest of our civilization which we brought into his country. Food, among the old-fashioned Indians, was always regarded as common property, the rule being to let him who was hungry eat, wherever he found that which would stay the cravings of his stomach.²⁴ Ulloa informs us that if an Indian finds himself without food and without money he appropriates whatever he needs when no one is looking; but always the smallest piece or modicum under the impression that it will not be missed. If discovered or caught in the act, he stoutly maintains that it was not theft, but a case of necessity without profit to him or bad intention on his part.²⁵ When a Bering Strait Eskimo is hired to shoot waterfowl and chances to kill a seal, he always considers it as his own property despite the fact that he was hired to hunt and was paid for his time. The only way the employer

²¹ Nelson, E. W., "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," in 18th Annual Report, B. A. E. (1896-7), p. 204.

²² Humboldt, Carl, "Unknown Mexico," I, 244.

²³ Ratzel, Friedrich, "Völkerkunde," I, 468.

²⁴ Leupp, F. E., "The Indian and His Problem," p. 9.

²⁵ de Ulloa, Don Antonio, "Voyage de l'Amérique," I, 236-7.

could obtain the chance rewards of the hunt would be to pay for such in addition to the regular wages.²⁶

It might be expected that the introduction of iron tools and other products of civilization would increase the incentives for theft. This indeed is true, but in the early days when goods of the white trader were relatively rare in the tribe and their possession so significant, the discovery of the thief and the reclamation of purloined articles were inevitable. This fact, coupled with adverse public opinion within the tribe, might be added as a further explanation for the infrequency of theft within the group,²⁷ but would act in no way as a check upon spoliation of members of the "out group" for such is not considered a crime.

To recapitulate: Admitting that contact with certain degraded elements of the white race has had a degenerative influence upon the American aborigines, there certainly is no evidence to support the broad generalization that contact with European civilization has changed a noble race of hospitable, truthful and honest men into lying, deceptive thieves and rogues. The native is born and brought up under a certain code of mores, that is, the prosperity policy of his own group. For the protection and preservation of the society this code defines and prescribes the duties and obligations of each member to every other member and to the group. But it does not extend to outsiders; they are unprotected; expediency alone determines their treatment—not a balanced judgment as to right or wrong. Moreover we have a conflict of two codes developed under entirely different life conditions. What is right and proper in one is frequently forbidden and regarded as a crime by the other. Thus the Indian's character is good only in so far as it coincides with the mores and customs of our group; in all other respects it is bad. It is largely this adherence to contrary mores which makes the contact Indian appear to us as a rogue devoid of any sense of honor or justice.

²⁶ Nelson, E. W., "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," in 18th Annual Report, B. A. E. (1896-7), p. 308.

²⁷ von Martius, Carl F., "Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerikas," I, 90. Ratzel, Friedrich, "Völkerkunde," I, 460.

CHAPTER III

EASEMENT OF THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE RESULTING FROM CONTACT

The presence of the white man and his culture could not fail to result in a revolutionary change in the life of the American aborigine. This result has been produced in two ways: first, by the action of the forces of a superior culture upon the physical environment of the Indian resulting in a modification of his life conditions; second, by the mental reaction of the native to such startling changes. Placed in such a situation the native must surely benefit in many ways by the adoption of processes and methods which are certain to have the effect of easing the struggle for existence; they represent adaptations to life needs and the test of their superiority is immediate; their efficacy is self-evident, and the savage accepts them as a matter of course. They lie almost entirely in the economic field of self-maintenance. It will be our purpose in this chapter to review those adjustments made by the red man as a consequence of contact with European races which have resulted in easing his struggle for existence.

The vast majority of the material benefits accruing to the natives of America consists of the arts of life and technical processes adopted from the higher culture groups. Probably nothing appertaining to western civilization was selected with greater dispatch than the white man's weapons, especially firearms. The Hurons and the Montagnais readily learned the use of the gun. In this they were encouraged by the French, who wished to increase the supply of peltries, and to use the aborigines as a bulwark against the English in North America.¹ Likewise English, French and Spanish influence was readily observable in the introduction of guns and ammunition wherever contact took place. As soon as the whalers began to winter in Cumberland Spund and to employ the natives, the latter received firearms and European boats as well as immense quantities of American and European manufactured goods in exchange for their wares. Thus the native mode of living was materially altered and Eskimo, such as the Nugumiut and the Akudnirmiut, living in regions untouched by the white man, were induced to migrate to those more favored spots

¹ Handbook of the American Indians, B. A. E., Bull. 30, pt. I, 475.

where the traders were to be found.² The Point Barrow Eskimo have always been good customers for firearms since the traders first visited them in 1854. They are dependent upon the ships for ammunition, and are most desirous of procuring cartridges for the rim-fire Winchester guns, as these cartridges are not intended to be used more than once. But, inasmuch as a supply is not always available, the natives have invented a method of priming these rim-fire shells so that they can be reloaded. "A common 'G. D.' percussion cap is neatly fitted into the rim of the shell by cutting the sides into strips which are folded into slits in the shell, a little hole being drilled under the center of the cap to allow the flash to reach the powder. This is a very laborious process but enables the natives to use a rifle which would otherwise be useless."³ The Indians of Chili abandoned their old weapons after they were certain of procuring ammunition for firearms.⁴

The tinder box of the white man was readily adopted by the American Indians when they began to associate with Europeans, and among many tribes soon superseded their own primitive methods of producing fire.⁵ Among the Omaha native industry was immediately affected by the advent of the trader. It was not long before the metal knife replaced the native implements of chipped stone. The metal knife soon became the constant companion of both men and women, serving all domestic purposes, but it never supplanted the flint knife in tribal rites. Thus the lock of hair taken from the male child when he was consecrated to Thunder was cut by a stone knife, which was also requisite for all bleeding and curative purposes.⁶ This shows the persistence of old customs where religion and the secondary mores are concerned; there is no immediate test to demonstrate the value of innovations. The Point Barrow Eskimo procured from whalers, by purchase or from wrecks, whaling guns such as are used by American whalers. These rapidly displaced the steel lance for dispatching the whale after it had been harpooned.⁷

²Boas, Franz, "The Central Eskimo," in 6th Annual Report, B. A. E. (1884-5), p. 466.

³Murdoch, John, "The Point Barrow Eskimo," in 9th Annual Report, B. A. E. (1887-8), p. 193.

⁴Lafiteau, le père, "Moeurs, coutumes et religions des sauvages américains," II, 22.

⁵Lee, F. E., "The Influence of the Jesuits on the Social Organization of the North American Indians," p. 85. Handbook of the American Indians, B. A. E., Bull. 30, pt. I, 460.

⁶Fletcher, A. C., and La Flesche, F., "The Omaha Tribe," in 27th Annual Report, B. A. E. (1905-6), p. 613.

⁷Murdoch, John, "The Point Barrow Eskimo," in 9th Annual Report, B. A. E. (1887-8), p. 195.

Perhaps the most noticeable change in the life habits of the American Indian is to be seen in his gradual adoption of European clothing. It is remarkable, however, that the Indian was attracted to various forms of the white man's habiliments more for purposes of utility and convenience, than from a desire to appear civilized and to ape the representatives of a higher culture. This is probably because the red man never recognized the European as his superior, and the fitness of every custom had to be demonstrated before the savage accepted it. In Acadia the Indians refused to wear trousers because they hindered free movement on the warpath or in the chase. European blankets, capes, hats, shoes, caps, woollens, shirts, and linen for infants were, however, highly desired. All were received from the French in exchange for furs.⁸ The modern dress of the Déné varies with their habitat, and approaches European style the closer they live to the white settlements. However, convenience plays a great part in the ease with which new customs are taken up, as is apparent from the fact that almost everywhere the Déné have retained the moccasins and leggings, and those who spend much of their time in trapping and hunting find the old-time skin tunic and trousers more serviceable and convenient than the ordinary clothes of the settlements.⁹ The Omaha did not adopt cotton cloth for purposes of wearing apparel until the commercial value attached to skins made them too valuable for common wear. This circumstance promoted the substitution of strouding (a heavy woolen cloth) and later of calico which the natives called "thin skin" for clothing.¹⁰ The Jesuits had but very little influence upon the dress of the North American Indian with whom they came in contact.¹¹ This is no doubt owing to the fact that the Jesuits came to save souls and not to remake the Indian in the form of the white man, and therefore gave but little attention to native dress so long as it covered his nakedness. It is quite probable that the priests, living the life of Indians, recognized the superiority of their garments over European garb as an adjustment to the environment.

The Jivaro Indians of Ecuador wear little or no clothing at home, but when they come into town to trade they dress themselves in what looks like a football jersey and cotton trousers.¹² The Conibos and Sipibos

⁸ Baird's Relation (1616), "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," III, 75, 77.

⁹ Hill-Tout, C., "The Native Races of British North America," I, 79.

¹⁰ Fletcher, A. C., and La Flesche, F., "The Omaha Tribe," in 27th Annual Report, B. A. E. (1905-6), p. 616.

¹¹ Lee, F. E., "The Influence of the Jesuits on the Social Organization of the North American Indians," pp. 81-3.

¹² Stabler, J. H., "Travels in Ecuador," in Royal Geographic Journal, vol. I, 248.

inhabiting the banks of the Ucayali in South America have made remarkable progress, wearing the dress of the Peruvian peasantry, replacing their bows and arrows and stone hatchets with firearms, and importing European or American utensils.¹³ Speaking of the adoption of civilized dress by the Indians of Guiana, Im. Thurn says:

"The new habit seems to be adopted in three stages: first, beads are used by men and women alike; then the men obtain and put on by way of show some single European garment, generally an ordinary flannel jersey or a hat, and the women wear a garment made like a flannel petticoat, worn round the neck, the band over one shoulder, under the other; and lastly the men wear shirt and trousers, the women an ordinary dress, in each case without other clothing. Beads have already penetrated almost throughout the colony, enormous quantities finding their way, in barter, year by year into the interior. . . . The second stage, marked by the occasional possession and use of a single European garment, has not yet spread beyond the Ackawoi and True Caribs of that part of the forest region which is near the coast and even then prevails only in rare cases. The third stage has fairly established itself among the Arawaks and other Indians living round mission stations of the coast region."¹⁴

Without question one of the most important contributions of the white man to the economic organization of the Indian, both in North and South America, was the introduction of the horse and of other domestic animals. The possession of the horse had a most significant influence upon the culture of the Indian and changed the entire mode of life in many tribes. Hitherto the dog had been the native's only domestic animal, his companion in the hunt, but of very limited assistance as a burden carrier. The hunting Indians, before the acquisition of horses, were footmen making short journeys and transporting their relatively insignificant belongings on their backs. Now all was changed. The possession of such a valuable animal increased their freedom of movement and made possible the accumulation of property, since one horse could carry the load of several men. Furthermore the food supply was made more certain because swift and long journeys to fresh hunting grounds could be made. The horse was a marvel to the Indians and came to be regarded as sacred. It was worshipped by the Aztec, and was thought to have a mysterious or divine nature by most of the native tribes. When Antonio de Espejo visited the Hopi of Arizona in 1583 the Indians spread cotton scarfs or kilts on the ground for the horses to walk on. The sacred character attributed to the horse is sometimes shown in the appellations given, such

¹³ Reclus, E., "The Earth and Its Inhabitants, South America," I, 311.

¹⁴ Im Thurn, E. F., "Among the Indians of Guiana," pp. 200-1.

as the Dakota *sínka wákan*, "mysterious dog."¹⁶ The Guaranis were frightened by the appearance of the horse when first it was introduced by the Spaniards, and in order to appease the strange animals they offered them provisions.¹⁶ The acquisition of the horse and the gun soon transformed those Indians, who a generation before had been timid foot wanderers, into daring and ferocious fighters.¹⁷ The hunting habits of the Indian, reinforced by the acquisition of firearms and the horse, seem to have prevented his rise to the pastoral stage, cattle having been introduced by the white settlers.

With the pressure of civilization and the gradual limitation of hunting grounds, the Indian was forced to turn his attention more and more to agriculture. Most of the Indian tribes practised agriculture in a primitive way to supplement the irregular food supply of the hunt; thus it was most natural that they should look to this source when the products of the chase decreased. It is in this field especially that the white man has been able to contribute much to the maintenance organization of the aborigines. The immediate effect of the presence of the colonists in New England was to make of the Indian a more important economic producer than ever before. The natives desired the wares of the white man; the latter needed the food products of the Indian. The natives traded for considerations of all kinds, wampum, coats, guns, bullets and so forth. Land was sold for hoes, and according to Governor Bradford these iron hoes, substituted for the wooden or clam-shell utensils of the squaws, produced much more corn on an acre and afforded a surplus for trade. The Narragansetts could sell 500 to 1000 bushels at a time. By 1637 the trade in maize up the Connecticut river was so important that an ordinance was passed regulating it.¹⁸ Wheat, grapes and peaches were introduced to the Pueblo tribes by the Spaniards.¹⁹

The early missionaries were largely instrumental in encouraging the development of agriculture among the aborigines. "The Indian, par-

¹⁶ Hutchinson, T. J., "The Tehuelche Indians of Patagonia," in Transactions of the Ethnol. Soc. of London, VII (N. S.), p. 321. Handbook of the American Indians, B. A. E., Bull. 30, pt. I, 569-71.

¹⁷ Schmidt and Cabeza de Vaca (tr. Dominguez, L. L.), "Conquest of La Plata" (Hakluyt), p. 117.

¹⁸ Handbook of the American Indians, B. A. E., Bull. 30, pt. I, 571.

¹⁹ Weedon, W. B., "Economic and Social History of New England," I, 38.

²⁰ Handbook of the American Indians, B. A. E., Bull. 30, pt. I, 26, 416. Note: It must be remembered that the Indian contributed much to the white man in the way of native vegetable foods such as pumpkins, squash and maize. Many savory and nourishing dishes have been adopted from the Indian, including hominy and succotash. Handbook, p. 468. See also Wissler, Clark, "Aboriginal Maize Culture," in American Journal of Sociology, XXI, 658.

ticularly of Mexico, was quite able to see the aptness of new agricultural methods and mechanic arts, and valued them and the greater ease of living consequent upon their exercise enough to be willing to accept all the paraphernalia and ceremony which, in this case, accompanied them. The Missionaries preserved, first of all, the natural resources which had often previously been wasted; their strict regulation protected game and favored domestication and breeding. Then they got together from 200 Indians (in the inland missions) up to 800 to 2000 (near the sea), and engaged them in a style of production clearly superior to that which they had been practising, but yet easily maintainable under the priests' directions."²⁰ The economic advantages of life in the missions caused a rapid increase in the population of New California. In 1790 there were 7748 natives under priestly control and in 1802 von Humboldt places the number at 15,562. The prosperity of the missions is evident from the fact that the quantity of wheat harvested was more than doubled from 1791 to 1802. The progress of these Indians as a consequence of missionary contact is remarkable in that one generation sufficed to change them from a nomadic people, living upon the hunt and fishing, and cultivating no vegetables at all, to industrious agriculturalists.²¹ The French missionaries not only did what they could to encourage the spread of agricultural and industrial arts among their *protégés*, but brought laymen from the homeland to instruct the Indians in these essentials.²²

Although the point is well taken that the Indians of the United States have been somewhat slow in adopting the plants and methods introduced by the whites, the reason is to be sought more in the frequent removals by the government and the unproductiveness of the soil of many of the reservations assigned to them than in any inherent dislike of labor on the part of the Indian. When once the Indian feels that his tenure is no longer a problematical matter the incentives toward personal betterment are greatly increased. The Hopi Indians serve as a good example. As far back as 1904 these people planted over 2500 acres in maize with an expected yield of about 25,000 bushels. About one-third of the annual crop is preserved in event of future failure through drought or other causes. They have under cultivation about 1000 acres in peach orchards, and 1500 acres in beans, melons, onions and chili; in addition they raise cotton, wheat and tobacco in small quantities. The Hopi also possessed

²⁰ Keller, A. G., "Colonization," p. 288.

²¹ von Humboldt, A., "Essai politique sur le royaume de Nouvelle-Espagne," II, 443-4.

²² Le Clercq, Father Christian (tr. Shea, J. G.), "First Establishment of the Faith in New France," I, 145-6.

about 56,000 sheep, 15,000 goats, 1500 head of cattle and over 4000 horses, burros and mules.²³ The Winnebagoes, the Santee Sioux and many other tribes were reported as early as 1876 to be industrious and well advanced in the arts of life, particularly agriculture.²⁴

It seems that as the Indians progress in agriculture there is a growing tendency to seek their own individual allotments, as is provided for under the Dawes Severalty Law. Up to June 30, 1909, nearly 81,000 Indians had applied for and received allotments aggregating nearly 12,500,000 acres of land. Between July 1 and the close of that year some 6700 additional Indians applied for their allotments, a rate three times as rapid as in the earlier days.²⁵

In brief, contact with a superior culture has assisted the American Indian to cope with rapidly changing life conditions in a great many ways. The Indian, with few exceptions, was suddenly raised from the stone age to the iron age. With this unprecedented advance he acquired the tools and weapons of a highly developed civilization. The superiority of the white man's implements was self-evident; the test was immediately before the eyes of the savage.²⁶ European dress was adopted but slowly, and only where the benefits of its use were apparent; the Indian had no desire to parade as a white man. The introduction of the horse and of firearms gave the native greater control over his environment, assuring him a more abundant and certain food supply. The missions in South America, Mexico and California "assembled the natives into relatively large aggregations and then set before them a standard of economy somewhat higher than their own, but not so lofty that its benefits were not immediately self-evident. In short, they began and continued their enterprise with the direct effort to modify the organization of industry, to better organize the struggle for existence,—introducing changes in the matter of religion, marriage system, etc., with tactful deliberation."²⁷ In the United States to-day we are witnessing the final passage from the red man's culture to that of the Caucasian, which has only come about in proportion as the Indian has been forced to adopt the arts of life necessary for survival under present life conditions.

²³ Handbook of the American Indians, B. A. E., Bull. 30, pt. I, 26-7, 566.

²⁴ Walker, F. A., "The Indian Question," pp. 175, 177-8.

²⁵ Leupp, F. E., "The Indian and His Problem," p. 354.

²⁶ Cf. Smith, A., "The Wealth of Nations," II, 161-2.

²⁷ Keller, A. G., "Colonization," p. 289. Cf. Keller, A. G., "A Sociological View of the Native Question," in the Yale Review," vol. XII (1903), p. 273.

CHAPTER IV

INTENSIFICATION OF THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE BY CONTACT

Although the clash between the primitive culture of the American Indian and the advanced civilization of the Caucasian has produced a number of unmistakable advantages for the native in his struggle for existence, we are still faced with the fact that he has suffered certain distinct losses. His greatest gains have been in the primary economic field where it was merely a matter of the selection of new commodities, or processes and methods which were clearly superior to those of his own culture. Some of these selections, however, which at first represented valuable assets to primitive man, later proved to be of inestimable harm, as in the case of firearms. It is also true that the economic aggression of the white man has had much to do with breaking down the old native economic organization and has prevented the acceptance of many adjustments necessary to the new life conditions placed before the savage. But it is in the realm of the secondary mores,¹ where the need of adjustment was not readily apparent and where no immediate test and verification was to be had, that the Indian suffered, perhaps, to the greatest degree in the competitive struggle for existence.

Nothing seems to have retarded the progress of the aboriginal American more than his innate conservatism and resistance to innovations. In the primitive society, as in our own, the mores are elastic and tough, and when once established in familiar and continued use they resist change. The native code gave stability to the social order, was regular and undisputed.² This conservatism and satisfaction with one's own customs and mores are particularly strong in the Indian. "You will see these poor barbarians, notwithstanding their great lack of government, letters, arts, and riches, yet holding their heads so high that they greatly underrate us, regarding themselves as our superiors."³ It is said that the Indians, first

¹ Those mores which do not react directly upon the natural environment in the effort to preserve life, or to preserve it more satisfactorily.

² Sumner, W. G., "Folkways," p. 80.

³ Baird's Relation (1616), "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," III, 75.

observing how the Dutch or English farmer followed his plow, stopped first to gaze in wonder, and then to turn away in pity.⁴ The aborigines of the Andean region in Colombia are perfectly satisfied with their time-honored customs, and like nothing better than to be left alone. The schoolmaster is an incomprehensible myth, the alcalde a useless personage, the tax-collector little less than the pest or the thunderbolt. His life is concentrated upon his primitive hut and half acre of farm; he is timid, distrustful and suspicious of everything that pertains to white civilization. "In short, the descendant of the *muisca* aborigines is a passive being, a kind of deaf-mute in the presence of European civilization incapable of either good or bad, thanks to the sad state in which he has lived since the conquest and to the inelasticity of his intellectual and moral faculties."⁵

This conservatism and the harm which has resulted therefrom are well illustrated in the persistence of certain mores centering about the property institution. In the olden days food was always regarded as common property by the Indians. The old practice underwent degeneration in course of time, no longer serving the useful purpose of the past. It is now interpreted by the lazy and thriftless element as justifying their living on any member of their family or tribe as long as that person has a crust of bread or a mouthful of meat in his camp, regardless of whether or not they are able-bodied and he is weak and helpless. The traditional respect generally entertained for this old custom restrains the victim from resistance or resentment, however much he may inwardly condemn the impositions placed upon him. The persistence of this old folkway may explain the seeming paradox where a band of Indians, among whom one might trust his whole stock of household goods overnight, will commit depredations upon his cattle and sheep, killing them to eat whenever possible to do so with reasonable security.⁶

Walker observed in 1874 that the progress of the best disposed and most advanced of the Oneidas in Michigan was seriously retarded because the lands were still held in common; there was no incentive to individual exertion, and habits of industry and frugality were discouraged. The majority of the Indians were coming to realize that their ancient communal system was a maladaptation under their changed environment. Consequently they favored the allotment and distribution of the tribal lands to families and individuals.⁷ The evils of the communal system were espe-

⁴ Peschel, Oscar, "The Races of Man," p. 153.

⁵ Eder, P. J., "Colombia," p. 224.

⁶ Leupp, F. E., "The Indian and His Problem," pp. 9-10.

⁷ Walker, F. A., "The Indian Question," pp. 162-3.

cially patent where intermarriage with whites had taken place. The white men promptly found ways of turning their wives' communal rights to their own profit. Thus valuable coal mines were fenced in by a "squaw man" and worked for years by what was supposed to be his wife's hired labor, but was actually an eastern corporation which had leased the mining privileges and paid into his private purse a royalty on every ton of coal extracted. Other cases of exploitation have been unearthed where tribes having valuable grazing and hay lands have leased them to white cattle companies, the middleman being a chief in most cases who was well compensated for keeping his followers contented and preventing the theft of the lessees' cattle for food.⁸

The notion of property in land was first introduced to the Aztec by the Spaniards. But the communal system of the natives was promptly taken advantage of by the conquerors to their own profit, great tracts of land and whole villages of Indians being distributed among the victors; thus there grew up the anomaly of Spanish possessors of vast estates within which Indian serfs held communal title to village lands. These Indian properties remained untouched until 1856 when the Juarez government ordered the allotment to the members of the community of all real estate pertaining to the villages, pasturage land being excepted. The conservative mind of the Indian, however, has never been friendly to this progressive movement, and in 1900 there were still in existence over 2000 formally organized communes. The later revolutionists were always sure of Indian support by promises of restoring the communal system.⁹

The community interest in what purports to be private property is quite apparent among the Eskimo. The natives are very jealous of anyone who accumulates much property and in consequence the wealthier men, in order to retain the public good will, are forced to be very open-handed with the community, thus creating a body of thriftless dependents. They entertain with little festivals at which food and other presents are distributed so that the people will appreciate the fact that it is to their interest to encourage such men in their efforts toward leadership; the populace receives the benefit. But whenever a successful trader among them accumulates property and food and is known to work solely for his own welfare, the envy and hatred of his fellow villagers are aroused and end in one of two ways. The villagers may compel him to make a feast and distribute all his goods, or they may kill him and divide his property among themselves, his family being left destitute and dependent on the

⁸ Leupp, F. E., "The Indian and His Problem," p. 28.

⁹ Thompson, Wallace, "The People of Mexico," pp. 153-4, 155, 317.

charity of others.¹⁰ It is obvious that this ancient custom offers no incentives to progress, maintains an unproductive class at the expense of the few, and tends to prevent the accumulation of capital.

Closely allied to the matter of conservatism in the Indian's character is his lack of individual foresight. It is hard for him to become adjusted to competitive conditions arising from contact with the culture races, and to the disintegration of the old tribal organization which formerly provided for all as a community function. Indolent by nature, the effect of contact and the consequent lessening of warfare have tended to increase the idleness of the red man.¹¹ Says Huntington, "the more an Indian is paid the less he will work. If one day's pay will buy two days' food, he will work half the time; if the pay is increased so that one day's pay will buy food for three days he will work one third of the time. The experiment has been tried again and again. The most considerate employers of tropical labor agree with the most inconsiderate, that in general it is useless to attempt to spur the Indians by any motive beyond the actual demands of food and shelter. Kindness and consideration on the part of the employer undoubtedly promote faithfulness but they rarely seem to arouse ambition or energy."¹² To the Navaho Indian money possesses only a temporary value. Earnings are spent freely and often unnecessarily; hoarding is unknown among them.¹³ Ulloa states that the Indians of Jaen de Bracamioies have so little regard for gold that they will not take the trouble to wash the river sand which contains it unless forced to do so by necessity.¹⁴

The influence of associating with the more degraded elements of the white race tends to augment the native indolence of the Indians. The White Oak Point Indians of Minnesota suffered from such contact, acquiring the bad morals of the lumbermen. The attempt at placing them on farm lands proved a failure. The ground which was broken for them soon went back into grass and the log houses built for them fell to ruin. Nothing could stop them from returning to their wonted haunts and old customs.¹⁵ Fugitive half-breeds and Spaniards only confirmed the Guanans in their idle habits.¹⁶

¹⁰Nelson, E. W., "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," in 18th Annual Report, B.A.E. (1896-7), p. 305.

¹¹Lafiteau, le père, "Moeurs, coutumes et religions des sauvages américains," p. 185.

¹²Huntington, E., "Civilization and Climate," p. 36.

¹³Hrdlička, Aleš, "Observations on the Navaho," in *American Anthropologist*, vol. II (N. S.), p. 344.

¹⁴de Ulloa, Don Antonio, "Voyage de l'Amérique," I, 304.

¹⁵Walker, F. A., "The Indian Question," p. 170.

¹⁶de Ulloa, Don Antonio, "Voyage de l'Amérique," I, 542.

Not alone has the mental state of the Indian and his consequent inability to make the necessary adjustments to new life conditions intensified his struggle for existence, but the mere introduction of European wares has produced in many cases a similar effect. The serious condition resulting from the substitution of European for native goods is described by Nansen:

"But worst of all is the irreparable injury which all our European commodities have done to him. We have, as I have shown, been so immoral as to let him acquire a taste for coffee, tobacco, bread, European stuffs and finery; and he has bartered away to us his indispensable sealskins and blubber, to procure all these things which give him only a moment's doubtful enjoyment. In the meantime his woman-boat has gone to ruin for want of skins, his tent likewise, and even his kajak, the essential condition of his existence, will often lie uncovered on the beach. The lamps in his house have often to be extinguished in the winter, because the autumn store of blubber has been sold to the Company. He himself must go on winter days clad in European rags instead of in the warm fur garments he used to have. He has grown poorer and poorer, the delightful summer journeys have for the most part had to be abandoned for want of woman-boats and tents, and all the year round he has now to live in confined houses where contagious diseases thrive and play worse havoc among the population than they ever did before."

It is likewise pointed out by the same author that the introduction of money among the Eskimo has had a baneful effect. Formerly the natives had no means of saving up work or accumulating riches, for the products of their labor did not last indefinitely and they gave away their superfluity. But now the use of money offers the temptation to sell the overplus to Europeans, instead of giving it to their needy neighbors, for with the money they can secure the much-coveted European commodities. Thus poverty has become well known.¹⁷ The suggestion has been made that the introduction of the horse has resulted in a decline in numbers among the Kadiveo, a subdivision of the Guykurus, in Paraguay. The tribe lived largely on horseback and the women did not want to be hindered by greater difficulties, consequently abortion was freely practised.¹⁸

Of all importations from the white man none have been fraught with such evil consequences for the Indian as firearms and liquor. The rifle has enabled the Eskimo to perpetrate terrible slaughter among the reindeer merely for the sake of momentary gain. Thus on the narrow strip of broken country stretching along the west coast, no fewer than 16,000

¹⁷ Nansen, F., "Eskimo Life," pp. 330, 335-6.

¹⁸ von Martius, Carl F., "Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerikas," I, 231.

reindeer were killed every year, only the skin being taken and sold to the Europeans in most instances, while the flesh was left behind to rot. Within a few years the animals were almost exterminated, or as the natives explained it, "the reindeer had left the coast." In former days, dependent upon the use of the bow and arrow, the natives could kill all that they required without seriously diminishing the number of reindeer. In the same way the shot-gun and the rifle have led to the indiscriminate slaughter of seals and of birds of many species, for example, the eider-duck.¹⁹ The Indians experienced the same sad consequences in the wasteful destruction of game and, with the intrigues of the white man in tribal affairs, the gun has resulted in untold destruction of human life.²⁰

Probably the most important and at the same time the most harmful trade good that the European had to offer the red man was alcohol. The evil effects of spirituous liquors were quite apparent to the Indians²¹ and numerous reports are available wherein the Indians at a very early date attribute their downfall to the rum and whiskey of the traders. In the Carlyle treaty of 1753 between the Delaware Indians and the commissioners of Pennsylvania the former stated their position:

"We never understood the Trade was to be for Whiskey and Flour. We desire it may be forbidden and none sold in the Indian Country; but that, if the Indians will have any, they may go among the Inhabitants and deal with them for it. When these Whiskey Traders come, they bring thirty or forty Cags, and put them down before us and make us drink, and get all the Skins that should go to pay the Debts we have contracted for Goods bought of the fair Traders, and by this Means we not only ruin ourselves but them too. These wicked Whiskey Sellers, when they have got the Indians in Liquor, make them sell the very Cloathes from their backs."²²

The usual evasive answer of the colonists is shown in the Pennsylvania governor's reply to similar complaints made by the Indians at the time of the Conestoga Treaty:

"As to Trade, they know it is the method of all that follow it to buy as cheap, and sell as dear as they can, and every Man must make the best Bargain he can; the Indians cheat the Indians, and the English cheat the English, and every Man must be on his Guard."²³

The idea was also stressed that if the English traders did not sell rum others would, and that trade was impossible without alcohol.

¹⁹ Nansen, F., "Eskimo Life," pp. 327-8. Keller, A. G., "Societal Evolution," p. 264.

²⁰ Catlin, George, "North American Indians," II, 250-1.

²¹ See Appendix, p. 357.

²² Thomson, Chas., "Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians," pp. 75-6.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 13-4.

The chiefs and the leading men of the Omaha recognized the disastrous influence of the liquor traffic upon their people and petitioned Congress in 1802 to have the trade suppressed. This resulted in the passage of an act prohibiting the introduction of whiskey into the interior by traders, but the law was never enforced.²⁴ On the frontiers the traders and citizens are generally leagued in their supposed interests to break down or evade the laws which exclude liquor or make it an offense to sell or give it away. If an agent appeals to the local courts for enforcement, according to Schoolcraft, the chances are that the majority of his jury are offenders in this very thing. The American Fur Company was one of the most persistent violators and would always override the Indian agents by appealing to higher powers, and so get permits annually for a limited quantity, of which they and not the agents were the judges. The argument put forth was that the Hudson's Bay Company used liquor "on the lines," and that the American company's trade would suffer if it did not have "some" in order to compete.²⁵ Rum was in heavy demand, was cheaper than other commodities for use in barter, and the gain in this illegal traffic was so great that the company instructed its agents to take the chance of being detected.²⁶

The Malamut used to buy whiskey from the trading vessels and drunken orgies would follow. In 1879 a fatal quarrel took place on Kotzebue sound; the people said it was the fault of the Americans and threatened to kill with impunity the first white man they could in order to have blood revenge.²⁷ Alaska was declared to be Indian country in 1873, consequently it was illegal to bring into the territory spirituous liquors or wines. The law was evaded by importing molasses, which was mixed with flour, dried apples or rice, yeast powder and hops to manufacture *hootchenoo*, "a pint of which is quite sufficient to craze the strongest brain." After the military occupation many of the soldiers became proprietors of *hootchenoo* stills and conducted a flourishing trade with the aborigines.²⁸ The Mexicans introduced mescal to the Tarahumare Indians, and it is through this drink that large numbers are made peons. Once the Indian has developed a taste for mescal he will pay anything to get it, first his animals, then his land. When his property is gone the whites still

²⁴ Fletcher, A. C., and La Flesche, F., "The Omaha Tribe," in 27th Annual Report, B. A. E. (1905-6), p. 618.

²⁵ Schoolcraft, H. R., "Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes," p. 326.

²⁶ Fletcher, A. C., and La Flesche, F., "The Omaha Tribe," in 27th Annual Report B.A.E. (1905-6), p. 618.

²⁷ Nelson, E. W., "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," in 18th Annual Report, B.A.E. (1896-7), p. 301.

²⁸ Bancroft, H. H., "History of the Pacific States," XXVIII, 524, 623.

give him this brandy and make him work. It is next to impossible for the Indian to pay his debt because his wages are not paid in money, but in provisions barely sufficient to keep him and his family alive. Thus his children grow up as peons to the Mexicans. "No wonder," says Lumholtz, "that the Christian Tarahumares believe that hell is peopled so thickly with Mexicans that there is not room for all. Some have been crowded out, and have come to the Tarahumares to trouble them."²⁹

Throughout the course of contact with the Indians the missionaries have steadfastly opposed the liquor traffic. The sale of intoxicating liquors was prohibited by the Jesuits³⁰ who held that a painful penance alone could restore the offender to the suspended rights of the sacrament. The casuistry of trade, however, soon found a method to gratify the Indians with their favorite cordial without incurring the ecclesiastical penalties; traders gave it to them instead of selling it.³¹

One of the outstanding effects of contact between the American Indian and the white man has been the loss of a great many of the arts and industries formerly practised by the aborigines. This is readily explained when we take into view the fact that many of the processes of the red man were inefficient and costly with respect to time and labor in comparison to those of the superior culture. Furthermore, changed life conditions not only obviated the need of many native productions but substituted a desire for commodities which the Indian was unable to manufacture. The natural and inevitable consequence was that the Indian ceased to produce those things which could be procured from the whites at a cheaper cost, and began to specialize in those arts which would afford him the greatest gain. For example, among the Omaha the use of guns destroyed the primitive industry of arrow-making. Copper kettles and tin and iron utensils replaced native pottery and accounted for the abandonment of what was once a very important occupation. Glass beads were substituted for shell and wampum earrings, and paints were purchased from the traders in small packages for a value of about twenty-five cents which saved the aborigines the time and labor of mixing their own.³²

The native arts of the Indians in the northwest and those of the Pueblos in New Mexico and Arizona declined rapidly after the coming of the white man.³³ The same may be said of the arts once practised among

²⁹ Lumholtz, Carl, "Unknown Mexico," I, 416.

³⁰ Lee, F. E., "The Influence of the Jesuits on the Social Organization of the North American Indians," p. 93.

³¹ Mackenzie, Sir Alexander, "Voyages—and an Account of the Fur Trade," I, vi.

³² Fletcher, A. C., and La Flesche, F., "The Omaha Tribe," in 27th Annual Report, B.A.E. (1905-6), pp. 615-7.

³³ Ratzel, Friedrich, "Völkerkunde," I, 482.

the Indians of Guiana.³⁴ The Delawares of Grand River near Hagersville, Ontario, are reported to have lost practically all their old culture. The manufactures of their forefathers are virtually extinct, the only survivals being the making of a few wooden spoons, bowls, mortars, the preparation of corn foods in Indian style, the weaving of splint sieves and other baskets.³⁵

The loss of native arts, however, was compensated for by increasing specialization in hunting on the part of the Indian. Heretofore the chase had been carried on in order to secure food and other necessities such as clothing, shelter, and bone with which to make implements. Moreover, it had been conducted with more or less religious ceremony as is shown, for example, in the rites connected with the buffalo hunt. But with the presence of the white man and the attractive wares which he offered in exchange for peltries hunting for the first time became a commercial enterprise.³⁶ In those regions dominated by the French, the influence of the traders, and indirectly that of the Jesuits, induced the natives to turn their attention almost exclusively to the hunting of fur-bearing animals.³⁷

We have, however, a few exceptional cases where native art and industry did not fall into desuetude. Such was the situation in Peru where there existed a strong European demand for native productions, which were thus able to serve as the medium of exchange for European commodities. In some of the handicrafts these Indians attained noteworthy skill; they were remarkably skilful goldsmiths, good iron workers and expert leather workers. Various kinds of silver vessels and figures of silver wire (filigranas) made by the natives in Ayacucho were always favorite articles of adornment in Spain. The natives of Tarma practised crude methods of weaving, yet they produced some of the finest of woollen cloths. Ponchos of vicuña wool sold at \$100 to \$120 each and equalled the finest European cloths. It is noticeable that the Indians of each province were specialists in some branch of industry to which they exclusively applied themselves even before the conquest. Hence it was but natural that this specialization should continue when it was found that there was a market for their manufactures.³⁸

³⁴ Im Thurn, E. F., "Among the Indians of Guiana," p. 269.

³⁵ Harrington, M. R., "Vestiges of Material Culture Among the Canadian Delawares," in *American Anthropologist*, vol. X (N. S.), pp. 408-9.

³⁶ Fletcher, A. C., and La Flesche, F., "The Omaha Tribe," in 27th Annual Report, B.A.E. (1905-6), pp. 613-4.

³⁷ Lee, F. E., "The Influence of the Jesuits on the Social Organization of the North American Indians," pp. 74-5.

³⁸ von Tschudi, J. J., "Travels in Peru," pp. 259-60.

The exploitation of the ignorant savage has been one of the principal factors intensifying his struggle for existence. Patient labor and the accumulation of a little capital by a Tarahumare never fail to allure the Mexican trader and sharper. If the Indian does not want to sell, the *lenguaras* loses his patience, throws a few dollars toward him, takes the ox and goes off. Many force the native to borrow from them whether or not he wants the money, the cloth, the mescal or the use of the horse. The simple Indian, seeing no other way to get rid of the troublesome white man, yields to his demands and the agreement is made that he must return the so-called loan on a certain date two or three months hence; the native, having no almanac, easily makes a mistake in his calculation and the date passes. The dealer thereupon looks up the Indian; makes a great fuss about all the trouble he is put to in collecting the loan and, charging not only enormous interest for overtime but adding exorbitant traveling expenses, succeeds by threats and intimidation in adjusting his damages in such a way that he drives off with a major portion of the Indian's wealth. Once a Mexican bought a sheep from a native on credit and, after killing it, paid for it with the head, the skin and the entrails. Another native agreed with a Mexican to exchange his eleven oxen for double the number of cows. But the white man, having no cows with him, left his horse and saddle as security. The Indian is still waiting for the cows. When asked why he trusted the Mexican so readily the poor Indian said simply, "He spoke so well."³⁹

Destructive acts of the white man have resulted in considerable loss to the natives. Thus the roads and the wonderful irrigation canals of the Incas were either destroyed or neglected by the Spaniards, and the fertile fields reclaimed by the aborigines at great cost were allowed to return to their former state of sterility.⁴⁰ The gold-seeking Spaniards were only concerned with the utilization of native labor in the mines. In the United States, after depriving the Indian of that which made existence possible, the government took great satisfaction in furnishing a substitute in the form of a ration system under which all Indians who were good, that is, who stayed on their reservations and abstained from violence, would receive at stated intervals so many pounds of meat, beans, flour, sugar and other edibles. Blankets and clothing also were to be had for the asking, and the government was willing to build houses for those who would live in them. Nothing was asked of the Indians in return except that they obey their agents and keep quiet. Salaried farmers were employed to

³⁹ Lumboltz, Carl, "Unknown Mexico," pp. 414-5.

⁴⁰ "The Travels of Cieza de Leon" (tr. Markham, C. R.), pp. 236-7.

instruct the Indians in agriculture and tools and fencing were offered as rewards for industry; but what was to be gained by being industrious if one could live on the fat of the land without stirring a muscle? Thus a people once vigorous, strong-willed and energetic became debauched by a compulsory life of sloth, and within a single generation acquired a reputation for laziness, incompetence and general degradation.⁴¹ Government policy had unfitted them for their own self-maintenance.

Judging from the unfortunate position of the American Indian to-day, with a few possible exceptions, and the length of time it has taken for his relatively imperfect adjustment to the new life conditions created by contact, it would seem that the native tribes have suffered a greater setback in their struggle for existence than they have made progress. In brief, this has been occasioned by the lack of foresight on the part of the Indian; his extreme conservatism which hindered making the necessary adjustments to new conditions; injury resulting from the unwise and indiscriminate use of the white man's goods, particularly firearms and liquor; the decline of native arts and the gradual loss of means of subsistence as a result of exploitation, and the encroachment by civilized man upon the maintenance organization of the aboriginal American.

⁴¹Leupp, F. E., "The Indian and His Problem," pp. 26-7.

CHAPTER V

THE LAND QUESTION

By far the most serious loss which the American Indian incurred as a result of race contact has been the appropriation of the land by the white races. The natural mode of life of the hunting tribes demanded a very extensive utilization of the land surface varying, of course, with the abundance of game. Thus it has been estimated that the natural environment of the more favorable parts of the United States was such that it required an average of one square mile to support a single Indian,¹ and in the more unfavorable regions the ratio was as high as 78 square miles per person;² in Patagonia (South America), about 68 square miles per person.³ Even in the case of agricultural tribes with their primitive methods of tillage and the natural exhaustion of the soil after successive crops had been produced the utilization of the land could be nothing other than extensive. To what extent the Indians of the United States have suffered from the loss of land is well expressed by the following extract:

"Had the settlements of the United States not been extended beyond the frontier of 1867, all the Indians of the continent would to the end of time have found upon the plains an inexhaustible supply of food and clothing. Were the westward course of population to be stayed at the barriers of to-day, notwithstanding the tremendous inroads made upon their hunting-grounds since 1867, the Indians would still have hope of life. But another such five years will see the Indians of Dakota and Montana as poor as the Indians of Nevada and Southern California; that is, reduced to an habitual condition of suffering from want of food. The freedom of expansion which is working these results is to us of incalculable value; to the Indian it is of incalculable cost."*

The Indian conceived of the earth as mother, and as mother she provided food for her children. "Mother" was used only in a sacred or religious sense; but in this primitive religious sense land was not regarded as property; it was like the air, something necessary to the life of the

¹ Jefferson, Thos., "Writings," III, 195.

² Schoolcraft, H. R., "Information respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States," Part I, 433. Note also Part IV, 573-4.

³ Cf. Fitzroy, R., "Voyages of the 'Adventure' and 'Beagle,'" II, 133.

*Quoted in Walker, F. A., "The Indian Question," p. 82.

race and therefore not to be appropriated by any individual or tribe to the permanent exclusion of all others. In course of time as the Indian began to till the soil, the necessary occupancy of the land he cultivated gradually established a right to the possession of the tract from which the individual or the group derived sustenance. This occupancy was the only land tenure recognized by the Indian; he never reached the conception of land as merchantable until this idea was forced upon him by association with the white race. The Algonkin tribes maintained that land ceded to the whites could not be regarded as absolute, and Tecumseh, representing the view of the allied tribes, claimed the Northwest Territory belonged to the tribes in common, and that the sale of lands to the whites by one group did not convey title unless confirmed by the other tribes. Each group had its village site and contiguous hunting or fishing grounds which were regarded as tribal property held by adverse possession. In some tribes garden spots were claimed by clans, each family working on its own particular patch, and in certain localities land was preempted by individuals regardless of clan.⁵ Thus we see the notion of private property in land was quite vague, but that the Indians had a very definite idea of tribal and intertribal relationship to their territories.

Let us now get in mind the theories upon which the various European powers, and later the United States, have acted in appropriating the lands inhabited by the Indians. The conflict of the various European nations resulted in the rule which became part of the recognized law of nations, and which gave the preference of title to the nation whose vessels should be the first to discover, rather than the one who should first enter upon possession of the new lands. This idea is clearly observed in the Papal Bulls and the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494). The exclusion of all other claimants under the law thus evolved gave to the discovering nation the sole right of acquiring the soil from the natives and of planting settlements thereon.⁶ This right was claimed by all the commercial nations of Europe and was fully recognized in their dealings with each other. The assertion of such a right necessarily carried with it a modified denial of the Indian title to the lands discovered; it recognized in them only a possessory title with a right of occupancy and enjoyment until the European sovereign should purchase it from them. The ultimate ownership was held to be vested in the sovereign, and the natives were precluded from alienating their possessory rights in any manner to any but the sovereign or his subjects. This theory was fully recognized by France, England,

⁵ Handbook of the American Indians, B.A.E., Bull. 30, pt. I, 756.

⁶ Zimmerman, A., "Die Europäischen Kolonien," I, 230-1.

Spain, Portugal, Holland and later, as we shall see, by the United States.⁷

The Spaniards at no time seem to have adopted the practice of purchasing the Indian title, though they clearly recognized the native's right to lands actually occupied. In Mexico this idea was evident in the persistence, under the Spanish régime, of Indian villages to which the natives held communal title.⁸ It seems to have been the rule to compensate the Indians for their village sites and lands in actual use which were taken from them. This was usually done by granting them other lands. Grantees of the crown often purchased the Indian title where it was deemed necessary that this should be extinguished. Baptized Indians appear to have been considered capable of holding and enjoying land in as full and complete a manner as any other subjects of the Spanish crown.⁹

As successors of the Spanish government most of the South American states have, at least officially, tried to protect the Indians in their rights to the land. When Araucania was opened to settlement the Chilean government allowed the Mapuches to keep the lands they were actually using, so that about half the soil in this region belongs to them. It is the aim of the government to furnish from seven to twelve acres to each male, and as population grows to provide the surplus with plots in other provinces where public land is still available. However, in spite of such meritorious laws, the Chileans are filching the acres bit by bit from the Mapuches. The official "Protector of the Natives" is of little use to them.¹⁰ It is said that more than a third of the Indians of Peru belong to agricultural communities, which, like the Germanic *mark* or Russian *mir* hold common lands that are distributed afresh every year to the members. The communal system is largely responsible for the indolence and unprogressiveness of the natives and leads to soil-robbing; but as soon as the *ayllu* or common lands are broken up into individual holdings, the Indian is pounced upon by the Peruvian, who swindles him out of his land or robs him of it outright. The natives of Bolivia have in recent years sponsored a general movement for the recovery of their lands of which they have been robbed piecemeal. When conflicts have broken out the government has punished the ringleaders, but there is a general feeling, says Dr. Ross, that as long as the exploitation of the Indian goes on, Bolivians are living "in the crater of a slumbering volcano."¹¹

⁷ Royce, C. C., "Indian Land Cessions," in 1st Annual Report, B.A.E. (1879-80), pp. 249-50.

⁸ *Supra*, p. 31.

⁹ Thomas, C., "Spanish Policy toward the Indians," in 18th Annual Report, B.A.E. (1896-7), pt. II, 542.

¹⁰ Ross, E. A., "South of Panama," p. 103.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 80-1, 89.

The policy adopted by France placed reliance upon arms rather than fair dealing with the aborigines. None of the grants from the French government exhibit any recognition of a possessory title vested in the Indians, or an express desire that the natives be secured in the possession of the lands they occupy or that are necessary for their uses. Although not clearly announced as a theory or policy, it was assumed by the French, when a nation or tribe agreed to come under French dominion, that this agreement carried with it the title to their lands. The policy both in Louisiana and Canada was to take possession, at first, of those points desired for settlement, and then to conciliate the Indians by peaceable measures, if possible, without any pretense of purchase.¹²

During the early settlement of the country by the English absolute title was tacitly asserted by the crown by virtue of discovery or conquest, although it was not until 1763 that a formal proclamation by George III was issued claiming absolute right to the Indian lands.¹³ None of the English patents show any consideration for the possessory rights of the Indians, nor any solicitude for their welfare or proper treatment. The grant to Lord Baltimore makes little mention of the natives, the most notable allusion being in the twelfth section, which authorizes Lord Baltimore to collect troops and wage war on the "barbarians" and other enemies who may make incursions into the settlements, and "to pursue them even beyond the limits of their province," and "if God shall grant it, to vanquish and captivate them; and the captives to put to death, or according to their discretion, to save." William Penn's charter contains substantially the same allusion to the natives.

In actual contact with the natives, however, it was soon discovered by the proprietors and colonists that the occupational rights of the Indians could not be brushed aside so easily. It is probable that if the government had made provision in the original charters for the proper treatment of the Indians in their possessory rights and had required the proprietors and governors to observe such provisions, much of the trouble with the natives experienced by the home government and by the colonies would have been avoided. By Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763 certain portions of the territory ceded by the Treaty of Paris to Great Britain were reserved exclusively to the Indians as their hunting grounds. No lands were to be purchased from Indians by private persons, but if the Indians wanted to sell, purchases might be made for the crown at some

¹² Thomas, C., "French Policy toward the Indians," in 18th Annual Report, B.A.E. (1896-7), pt. II, 545-6.

¹³ Handbook of the American Indians, B.A.E., Bull. 30, pt. I, 756.

public assembly of the Indians to be held for that purpose by the governor of the colony.¹⁴ It was not until 1764 that an attempt was made to systematize and regulate Indian relations, when Sir William Johnson was appointed as "Sole agent and superintendent of Indian affairs for the Northern parts of North America" and Edmund Atkin for the Southern Indians.¹⁵

Numerous examples show that the Virginia colonists found it advisable to recognize the possessory title of the Indians. In some cases the whites claimed by right of conquest and the imaginary title conferred by the king's charter, but more often they purchased the rights to the soil from the heads of the tribes. Thus the treaty entered into by G. Yeardly on behalf of the London Company and Opechancanough granted to the English permission to reside at such places on the banks of certain rivers as were not already occupied by the natives. Recognition of Indian rights is to be observed in the transactions of 1616 when the Indians, being short of food, applied to Sir Thomas Dale, governor of the colony, for corn. Dale shrewdly loaned them four or five hundred bushels repayable the next year, and took a mortgage on their entire country for security. That the English regarded the ultimate title to all the lands as residing in the crown can be seen from the fact that numerous patents were granted to the Indians guaranteeing to them their lands unless a majority should freely and voluntarily give their consent to sell or dispose of them in the quarter court or assembly. The frequent land disputes between the aborigines and settlers finally led to the act of 1660:

Act 138. "Whereas the mutuall discontentes, complaints, jealousies and feares of English and Indians proceed chiefly from the violent intrusions of divers English made into their lands. . . . The governor, councell and burgesses . . . enact, ordaine and confirme that for the future noe Indian king or other shall upon any pretence alien and sell, nor noe English for any cause or consideration whatsoever purchase or buy any tract or parcell of land now justly claymed or actually possest by any Indian or Indians whatsoever; all such bargains and sales hereafter made or pretended to be made being hereby declared to be invalid, voyd and null, any acknowledgement, surrender, law or custome formerly used to the contrary notwithstanding."¹⁶

The treatment accorded by William Penn to the Indians uniformly recognized the possessory right of the various tribes to the land. The same policy was followed by Penn's heirs and by the colony at a later

¹⁴ Lindley, M. F., "The Acquisition and Government of Backward Territory in International Law," p. 340.

¹⁵ Beer, G. L., "British Colonial Policy, 1754-65," p. 254.

¹⁶ Hening, W. W., "Statutes at Large, Laws of Virginia," II, 138-9.

date, in that all claims to land were based upon the purchase of native rights. One of the characteristic features of the deeds secured by Penn from the Indians was the frequent overlapping of claims and the indefinite and inaccurate boundaries established. Thus the areas purchased were often described as westward "two days' journey," and the amount of land which could be covered by a walk lasting for a day and a half.¹⁷

Many difficulties arose from Indian tribes selling land claimed by others. Thus the chiefs of the Delawares gave a release to the lands belonging to the Minisink Indians, though the Minisinks were a nation independent of the Delawares.¹⁸ At another time the Delawares refused to leave lands which they had sold to the proprietors of the colony, claiming that the whites had taken more than was agreed upon. The latter thereupon made a present to the Six Nations and invited them to use their influence to compel the Delawares to leave. This effort was apparently successful, but it is interesting to note that the Iroquois themselves claimed the territory in question by right of conquest as evidenced by Canassatego's speech to the Delawares:

"But how came you to take upon you to sell Lands at all? We conquered you; we made Women of you: You know you are Women, and can no more sell Land than Women; nor is it fit you should have the Power of selling Lands, since you would abuse it. This Land that you claim is gone thro' your Guts; you have been furnished with Cloaths, Meat and Drink, by the Goods paid you for it, and now you want it again like Children as you are."¹⁹

The frequent overlapping of claims, the constant encroachments of white settlers upon Indian lands not purchased from the natives and the difficulties ensuing finally led to the act of October 14, 1700 which declared "that if any person presumed to buy any land of the natives within the limits of this Province and Territories, without leave from the Proprietary thereof, every such bargain shall be void and of no effect." This was strengthened by a later act in 1714, and the law of 1768 prohibited persons from settling on lands not purchased of the Indians.²⁰

The Plymouth colonists obtained their first right of settlement by entering into a league of peace with Massasoit who gave them all the lands adjacent to his own. Thereafter it seems that the colonists were very

¹⁷ See Appendix, pp. 357-9, for description of method of establishing boundaries and the consequent injustice of the same.

¹⁸ Thomson, Chas., "Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians," p. 41.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-2, 44-6.

²⁰ Thomas, C., "Pennsylvania's Policy toward the Indians," in 18th Annual Report, B.A.E. (1896-7), pt. II, 596-7.

conscientious about purchasing whatever additional land was required. It is interesting to observe that the people of Plymouth recognized the Indian occupants as proprietors. Quite different, however, was the theory of the Puritans. Their contention was that "the whole earth is the Lord's garden," and therefore the peculiar property of his saints, and that the aborigines were only entitled to so much of the soil as they could occupy and improve.²¹ In 1633 this principle was embodied in the law when the general court ordered that "what lands any of the Indians *have possessed and improved, by subduing the same*, they have just right unto, according to that in Genesis ch. 1, 28, and ch. 9, 1, and Psal. 115, 16." Thus Charlestown, Dorchester, Boston, Salem and other places were intruded into by the Puritans without condescending to any inquiry concerning the Indian title. The only evidence of possessory rights recognized was the existence of fields waving with yellow corn and duly fenced in.²² The Puritans seemed to anticipate the time when the aborigines should become civilized, for their laws further provided that the court should make allotments of available land to such Indians for "plantations such as the English have," and the aborigines might form townships of their own upon the English pattern.²³

In general it can be said that the English colonies in America recognized the Indian's right of occupancy in spite of the fact that the crown placed no such obligation upon them in the original patents or grants. It was a matter of necessity, for the Indians were in actual possession and it was cheaper and easier to buy them off than to drive them away by force of arms. In practically all the colonies laws were passed attempting to regulate the sale of lands by the Indians to white settlers. In 1761 the English government undertook to control Indian affairs by taking that function away from the colonial governors, and prohibited them from making grants of land or settlements which might interfere with the Indians bordering on the colonies.²⁴ In its broad aspects the United States followed the policy which had already been laid down by Great Britain to the effect that the Indian had merely a possessory right terminable at the will of the sovereign. Thus in the treaties of 1784 and of 1786 with the Six Nations and the Shawnees respectively the aborigines were required to

²¹ See Appendix, p. 359, for Winthrop's justification for appropriating land.

²² Oliver, Peter, "The Puritan Commonwealth," pp. 103-4.

²³ Thomas, C., "Massachusetts' Policy toward the Indians," in 18th Annual Report, B.A.E. (1896-7), pt. II, 602.

²⁴ This referred to Nova Scotia, New Hampshire, New York, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

Thomas, C., "English Policy toward the Indians," in 18th Annual Report, B.A.E. (1896-7), pt. II, 556-9.

recognize the United States as the sole sovereign of all the territory ceded by Great Britain. In its legal aspects this claim was unintelligible to the natives, but they understood it to be fatal to their independence and territorial rights. The result was that the Indians banded together for remonstrance, and finally in 1789 treaties were negotiated for the purchase and extinguishment of certain Indian claims. These treaties clearly recognized the Indian title to occupancy as expressed by General Knox, Secretary of War to President Washington :

"The Indians being the prior occupants possess the right of soil. It cannot be taken from them unless by their free consent, or by right of conquest in case of a just war. To dispossess them on any other principle would be a gross violation of the fundamental laws of nature, and of that distributive justice which is the glory of a nation."²⁵

On the adoption of the Constitution the right of eminent domain became vested in the United States, and Congress alone had the power to extinguish the Indian's right of occupancy. Even before that date the ordinance of 1787 respecting the territory north of the Ohio required the consent of the aborigines to the cession of their lands. Until the passage of the act of March 3, 1871 all land cessions were by treaty, the United States negotiating with the tribes as foreign nations. During all this time the right of the Indians to the soil was acknowledged, and the government pursued a uniform course of extinguishing the Indian title only with the consent of the native tribes concerned. The United States never extinguished the native title by right of conquest except once in the case of the outbreak of the Indians in Minnesota in 1862, and then the government provided the Indians with another reservation, besides giving them the proceeds of the sales of the lands vacated by them.²⁶ We have many examples of very inadequate consideration being given, such as the purchase of the best Chippewa lands for a sum which, divided among native participants, was said not to exceed a breech-cloth and a pair of leggins apiece,²⁷ but formally, at least, the government gave compensation for the surrender of native rights of occupancy.

From a legal standpoint the attitude of the United States is the same as that expressed by the colonial legislatures. Thus the general assembly of Virginia asserted the unrestricted right of a conqueror, and at the same time conceded what the principles of natural law were supposed to require,

²⁵ Royce, C. C., "Indian Land Cessions," in 1st Annual Report, B.A.E. (1879-80), p. 251.

²⁶ Walker, F. A., "The Indian Question," pp. 10-1.

²⁷ Schoolcraft, H. R., "Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes," pp. 610-1.

when, in 1658, it enacted that no lands should be patented until fifty acres had first been set apart to each warrior or head of a family belonging to any tribe of Indians in the vicinity. In this law we can see a direct antecedent of the principle adopted by the Federal government in setting aside small reservations for the Indians upon the relinquishment of the body of their lands.²⁸ Since the passage of the Act of March 3, 1879, which declared that "hereafter no Indian nation or tribe within the territory of the United States shall be acknowledged or recognized as an independent nation, tribe, or power, with whom the United States may contract by treaty," the Supreme Court has gone so far as to decree that an agreement or the consent of the Indians is unnecessary for their removal from lands which it is desired to open up to white settlers. The Lone Wolf Case (January 5, 1903) held that the fee to Indian reservations is vested in the government; that the Indians have only the right of occupancy, and that the power of Congress is only limited by its sense of justice in dealing with a weaker and dependent people.²⁹ The natives may not cut growing timber, open mines, quarry stone, etc., to obtain lumber, coal, building material, etc., solely for the purpose of sale or speculation. In short, what a tenant for life may do upon the land of a remainderman the Indians may do upon their reservations, but no more.³⁰

The right of occupancy, however, has consistently been regarded as conveying an inchoate title to lands and remuneration has always been granted to those Indians who were obliged to surrender their territories. This practice seemed to have become a settled policy of the nation. Indeed, it was the recognition of this fact which determined the Court of Claims in 1910 to render judgment for the Ute Indians against the United States for the misappropriation by the government of their tribal lands for use as a forest reserve.³¹ The enfranchising act of June 2, 1924, put the United States in the position of trustee at law for so much of the tribal lands of

²⁸ Snow, Alpheus H., "The Question of the Aborigines," pp. 120-1.

²⁹ Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock, 187 U.S. 553.

With reference to the relationship of the government to the Indian see also: Choctaw Nation v. U.S., 119 U.S. 27, 39; Ward v. Race Horse, 163 U.S. 509, ff.; Spaulding v. Chandler, 160 U.S. 403.

Note: The attitude of the Canadian government follows the same trend of thought. In 1888 the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council ruled that under the Royal Proclamation of 1763 "the tenure of the Indians was a personal and usufructuary right, dependent upon the good will of the sovereign" and that there had been "all along vested in the Crown a substantial and paramount estate, underlying the Indian title, which became a plenum dominium whenever that title was surrendered or otherwise extinguished."—Lindley, M. F., "The Acquisition and Government of Backward Territory in International Law," p. 340.

³⁰ Handbook of the American Indians, B.A.E., Bull. 30, pt. I, 757.

³¹ Ute Indians v. U.S. 45 Ct. Cl. 440.

its Indian citizens as was still held in common by them. And yet, just at a time when one would expect that the Indian was finally secure in his property rights, the Department of Justice representing the Federal Power Commission ³² contends in the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia that the fifth amendment guaranteeing private property rights is not applicable to the Indians of the United States, and that Congress can confiscate their property without recourse on their part to the courts. It is maintained that Congress has power over their property by reason of its guardianship and may determine the occupancy rights of the Indians, and if injury is occasioned the remedy must be sought in an appeal to Congress, not to the courts. The upshot of it all will be to force the Indian citizens of the United States to contend against their government for the most fundamental rights which the constitution guarantees to them.

The Indians are further handicapped in legal struggles with their guardian government because now, as citizens, they must sue the United States in the Court of Claims within six years after the cause of action arises. And moreover, if they do bring suit, the law provides that contracts between an Indian tribe and its attorneys must be approved by the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. It is a practice to approve only such contracts as provide for a contingent fee which never amounts to more than 10% of the amount recovered. This is designed to protect the Indians from unscrupulous attorneys, but has really proved disadvantageous to them. It has made it difficult to secure counsel because the attorney must advance all costs and expenses of the usually lengthy litigation, and is not reimbursed unless a recovery is obtained.³³

It is thus evident that as the power of the white man increased and that of the aborigine declined, the status of the native tribes fell from that of independent nations exercising control over their own soil to that of dependent subjects holding their lands by sufferance. Indeed, it is this very fact which in large measure accounts for the savage's inability to adjust himself to the mores of the white man. The native had no security of tenure. Thus, let us say, a tribe acquires the first elements of civilization, becomes agricultural and has accumulated some capital in live stock, tools and implements, and possibly some fixed habitations. Then as the pressure of white population increases and the land is coveted by the white men it is decided to move the Indians to a reservation on the frontier. Thus a

³² Composed of the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture.

³³ Wise, J. C., "Indian Law and Needed Reform," in American Bar Association Journal, Jan., 1926, p. 39.

tribe which had become agricultural is placed in a country far more abounding in game than its former home, and is forced to readjust its maintenance organization; it is forced to fall back upon the hunting stage. And furthermore,

"the price of these articles which have become necessary or convenient to them, especially those which are useful in their acquired habits of industry, is higher the farther they are removed from the civilized frontier; so that here again, a temptation is held out to be content with inferior substitutes, and to unlearn one by one the habits and the arts which they had acquired. It is precisely as if a savage had been nurtured in European habits and costume until his own were forgotten, and then turned naked into the wilderness, and told to thrive as he did before. And, as the last and greatest of all these causes of degeneracy, we must not fail to estimate the insecurity, the despair of permanence, the conviction of approaching annihilation, which are inevitably engendered in their minds, and drive back into sullen apathy spirits in which the Promethean spark of enterprise had been for a moment elicited."²²

Instances of the serious consequences of repeated and threatened removals upon the economic organization of the American aborigines are not wanting. The Winnebagoes were compelled to leave their reservation in Minnesota because of the massacre of some whites by the Sioux. They had been living in Minnesota for many years, had made considerable advancement in civilization and had built houses and developed their farms. At the time of their forcible removal they were well supplied with grain, stock, tools and implements, most of which were stolen or destroyed since they were unable to take their property with them. A number of cases are cited in the report of the commissioner of Indian affairs for the year 1877:

"The agent of the Selitz agency, in Oregon, says: 'Hearing, as they constantly do, that the government is soon to drive them from the land they now occupy, in order to make room for the whites who want homes, they sometimes get discouraged, and conclude it is useless to improve what they are so soon to vacate.'

"The agent of the Grand Ronde agency, in Oregon, says: 'The Indians in this agency are kept in a constant state of insecurity by reports of whites with whom they come in contact, to the effect that they are soon to be removed.'

"The agent of the Kickapoos, in Kansas, says: 'Many practical and progressive Indians have been discouraged and deterred from making improvements, upon which they had determined, through fear that they would not be allowed to enjoy the benefit of them.'

²² Merivale, H., "Lectures on Colonisation and the Colonies," II, 176-7. Cf. Catlin, George, "North American Indians," II, 249-50.

"The agent of the Otoe Indians, in Nebraska, says: 'The subject of removal that has been agitating these Indians for a number of years, has prevented, to a very great extent, active improvements among them.'"²⁸

Bearing in mind the land policy of the various European groups with whom the Indian came in contact, there can be but little doubt that the rapid appropriation of the soil by the white race has resulted in a great loss to the aborigine. The Indian, living upon an inferior economic stage, was quite unable in such a short time to assimilate the arts and technique of the Caucasian which would permit a more intensive utilization of the soil. Furthermore, even where the Indian was in a fair way to acquire the habits of thrift and industry, experience soon taught him the futility of making permanent improvements to the land when he possessed nothing more than the right of occupancy and was subject to removal at the will of the sovereign authority.

²⁸ Manypenny, G. W., "Our Indian Wards," pp. 139, 143.

CHAPTER VI

APPLICATION OF EUROPEAN POLITICAL CONTROL AND GOVERNMENT TO THE INDIANS

One of the earliest effects of the forcible substitution of the white man's authority for that of the old native organization was the imposition of slavery and forced labor upon the aborigines. It was early discovered by the Spaniards that gold was to be found in the New World, "and that there existed people whose bodies could be utilized by a parasitic organization to acquire the gold while their souls were being inducted into the true faith." The Portuguese in Brazil began at an early date to have recourse to native labor, coercing and forcing the rude and hostile Indians to their will. Their entire system was based upon the domination and exploitation of a reduced country and people. It was thought that the cultivation of the country was impossible unless the Indians were subjected to slavery.¹ At first colonists were allowed to make slaves of the natives at will until by royal edict the settlers were limited to the enslavement of Indians captured in a just war or sold by their parents. This regulation was soon followed by that of King Sebastian (1570) which declared all Indians free except those such as should be taken in war made by command of the king or governor, or such as were aggressive cannibals.² Although the slavery system drew down upon itself the spirited opposition of the king, and also of the Jesuits who were desirous of gathering the natives into their fold, the economic pressure for a cheap labor supply led the colonists to give but little heed to such regulations. There were those, however, who saw in slavery an unqualified blessing for the native. Thus Peter Martyr is quoted that slavery was necessary for Indians who, if they had no master, would go on with their old customs and idolatry.³ Boggiani expresses a similar opinion in regard to the aborigines of the Chaco, as the meadow region on the Paraguay River is called, when he remarks that slavery amongst a people of higher culture is for them "an incalculable benefit,"

¹ de Varnhagen, F. A., "Historia Geral do Brazil," I, 257 ff. Watson, R. G., "Spanish and Portuguese South America during the Colonial Period," I, 161-3. Keller, A. G., "Colonization," pp. 142, 177.

² Zimmerman, A., "Die Europaischen Kolonien," I, 129-32.

³ de Varnhagen, F. A., "Historia Geral do Brazil, I, 178.

and that "to hinder slavery in such circumstances, would be a capital error." ⁴

In the early days of the Spanish conquest there was practically no governmental control over the utilization of native labor. As in Portuguese territory it was lawful to enslave cannibal tribes, but, inasmuch as there were not enough of such groups to furnish a labor supply, slave hunting, pure and simple, became the order of the day. Especially in Peru did the conquerors exhibit a ruthlessness which was appalling. When the country was divided amongst the victors every one was eager to obtain an instantaneous reward for his services. Unaccustomed to persistent industry requisite for permanent cultivation of the soil, and lacking the patience to wait for its slow returns, they selected for their habitations the mountainous regions which abounded in the precious mines. In order to develop these a large labor force was essential, and the natives were accordingly driven in crowds to the mountains. Even in those places where slavery was not ostensibly in vogue it was represented by a tribute system whereby gold was demanded and in place thereof labor in the production of gold.⁵ The original idea seems to have been to treat the Indians as free subjects of the Spanish crown, and aside from the tribute to hold them to paid labor through their caciques.⁶

The first modification of direct slavery was represented by the attachment of the Indian to the soil, or his elevation to a sort of serfdom designated as the *repartimiento* or distribution. The *repartimiento* was employed extensively under Ovando by royal order. He allotted to one Spaniard fifty, to another one hundred Indians under their chiefs; and other such groups were formed to cultivate lands for the king. The *repartimiento* was cloaked under a pious design in that every assignment was accompanied by a patent reading: "To you, so-and-so, are given in trust ('se . . . encomiendan') under chief so-and-so, fifty or one hundred Indians, for you to make use of them in your farms and mines, and you are to teach them the things of our holy Catholic faith." The evils of this system were so patent that Isabella was led to abolish the practice, but shortly after her death it was reestablished under the more attractive title *encomienda* which conveyed the idea of benevolent intent, given in trust.⁷ These grants were originally for the life of the patentee, but in 1536 they

⁴ Boggiani, C., "I Caduvei," I, 100. (Quoted in Sumner, W. G., "Folkways," p. 272.)

⁵ Bourne, E. G., "Spain in America, 1450-1580," p. 44.

⁶ Haebler, K., "Amerika," in Helmolt's "Weltgeschichte," I, 395-6.

⁷ Zimmerman, A., "Die Europäischen Kolonien," I, 246. Keller, A. G., "Colonization," p. 264.

were extended to two lives; the "New Laws" of 1542, however, provided that the *encomiendas* were to pass to the crown immediately after the death of the first holders, but this provision caused so much trouble that it was revoked in 1545. In 1629 the period for these grants was lengthened to three lives.⁸

In Peru the establishment of the Spanish system was facilitated by its similarity to the labor system employed by the Incas, but the Indians did not profit by the change. The paternalistic Inca government saw to it that the natives were properly fed and clothed and either given abundant opportunity to provide for their own necessities or else permitted to draw on official stores. The Spaniards merely took advantage of the ancient custom and enforced it without taking pains to see that it should not cause suffering.⁹

Very little difference in the consequences of slavery and enforced labor is to be noticed among the different aboriginal groups in America. As slaves the Indians of Brazil were unable to perform the hard labor imposed upon them and to which they were totally unaccustomed. The so-called free Indians who voluntarily submitted to the Portuguese enjoyed no better fortune; they were forced to leave their families destitute of support while they raised and prepared tobacco on the plantations.¹⁰ In Peru the richest veins of the precious metals were early exhausted, and the Spaniards began to develop those high on the ridge of the Andes where wood and provisions were wanting and communication extremely difficult. These disadvantages were only overcome by the profuse application of Indian labor, the unhappy natives being transported from their own valleys to a scene of incessant toil, in an air almost too attenuated for human life. Their numbers rapidly diminished, and were only maintained through the *mita* or conscription to serve by rotation for a limited period. The Indians of Mexico seem always to have enjoyed superior privileges to those afforded the natives of Peru. In the early days this was owing to the more enlightened policy of Cortés, and later to the liberal enactments of King Charles III who annulled the *encomiendas* and forbade the *repartimientos*.¹¹

Keller generalizes the situation as follows:

"Slavery in the sense of any wholesale appropriation of the enemy's vital forces did not exist upon the continent prior to its discovery; the stages of

⁸ "The Travels of Cieza de Leon" (tr. Markham, C. R.), p. 72, note.

⁹ Bingham, Hiram, "Inca Land," p. 76.

¹⁰ Watson, R. G., "Spanish and Portuguese South America during the Colonial Period," II, 84.

¹¹ Merivale, H., "Lectures on Colonisation and the Colonies," pp. 24-5, 271.

the arts and the development of governmental organization would not admit it. Torture of male prisoners was more likely than their preservation, even through adoption; a tribute-relation, as imposed by the Aztecs, was scarcely endured. The race had been schooled to submissiveness as little as to agricultural labors. Hence the ineffectiveness of the Indians under the wage-system and their irreconcilability to that of slavery; the latter appeared to them repulsive and unendurable, and to escape from it the Indians of Spanish, as of Portuguese America, did not balk at the extremest recourse, as their swift decline in numbers testifies. The newly met scions of long-separated human groups were therefore in no position to fall easily into some mutually satisfactory relation; the ethnic strains were so estranged as to demand indefinite years of wrangling and oscillation before mere proximity could be transformed into anything approaching kindly feeling and unity of purpose."²²

That the exploitation of the labor services of the Indian has not been confined to colonial days is evident from innumerable cases occurring within the past few generations. The Maya Indians were practically in a state of slavery before the uprising of 1848, and were treated by their Spanish masters with the utmost barbarity. Thus it is recorded that a well-known merchant of Balcalar was in the habit of burying his Indian servants up to the neck in the ground with heads shaved and exposed to the hot sun; their heads were then smeared with molasses and the victims were left to the ants. This punishment was inflicted for any little infraction.²³ The plantation owners of Peru endeavor to get the few Indians who settle voluntarily on their property fixed to it forever. They sell the natives indispensable necessities at exorbitant prices on condition of their repaying for such goods by field labor. One instance is cited by J. J. von Tschudi of an Indian giving five days' labor from sunrise to sunset for a cheap red pocket handkerchief. Indeed, "the desire to possess showy articles, the necessity of obtaining materials for his wretched clothing or implements to enable him in his few free hours to cultivate his own field, and above all his passion for coca and intoxicating drinks all prompt the Indian to incur debt upon debt to the plantation owner."²⁴

The present-day practice in recruiting native labor for work in the mines and on the sugar or coffee plantations shows no improvement. Agents are employed who appear in the villages several weeks before the annual *fiesta* in honor of the patron saint. The Indians are wont to celebrate on that gala occasion about which their entire emotional, recreative and social life centers. After presents of vestments and jewels for the

²² Keller, A. G., "Colonization," p. 263.

²³ Gann, T. W. F., "The Maya Indians of South Yucatan and British Honduras," B.A.E., Bull. 64 (1918), p. 18.

²⁴ von Tschudi, J. J., "Travels in Peru," p. 277.

effigy of the saint, fees to the priest for masses, and a feast for his friends, the native is in a fit mood to embark upon reckless expenditures. It is then that the labor agent "hooks" (*enganchar*) the guileless native, promising him from thirty to fifty dollars cash provided only he will sign a bond to repay the debt by labor. He signs, and after sobering up at the close of the *fiesta*, reports to the "hooker," who thereupon sends him to a distant plantation, or to the mines at perhaps 14,000 feet elevation above sea level. The Cerro de Pasco Mining Company alone has 4000 natives in its employ under the *enganche* system. On the average about four months' labor is necessary before the native can discharge the debt and regain his freedom.¹⁵ The same situation applies in Mexico where frauds without number have been practised to compel the natives to take employment with the whites by forcing them into debt.¹⁶ Even to-day in the Amazon basin the exigencies of the rubber gatherers have caused tribes, once visited with impunity by explorers, to become so savage and revengeful as to kill all white men at sight. Many Indians have fled to the more inhospitable mountains to avoid the calls made upon them for forced labor; they run away at the first sight of brass buttons.¹⁷

If now we turn our attention to the labor situation as between the natives and the whites north of Mexico we find practically no examples of enforced servitude or slavery. A few spasmodic cases occurred in Virginia and New England. Virginia limited the conditions of bondage for the Indians to those which governed in the case of white men, while slavery in New England was restricted to captives taken in a just war. Thus we are informed of a special grant of one Indian to Winthrop and another to his son to serve them in 1634; and in 1637 Hugh Peter writes to John Winthrop that he hears of a dividend of women and children from the Pequot captives and that he would like a share, "a young woman or girl and a boy if you think good."¹⁸ It is worthy of note, however, that the Indians in the proximity of the English settlements were few in number and established on a lower economic plane than many of the peoples with whom the Spaniards came in contact; that the English settlements were relatively compact and the military organization undeveloped; and finally, that the Indians had a wide expanse of territory to which they could withdraw as the colonists encroached upon them. These considerations, together with the fact that the New Englanders them-

¹⁵ Ross, E. A., "South of Panama," pp. 153-4.

¹⁶ Merivale, H., "Lectures on Colonisation and the Colonies," I, 24-5. Lumholtz, Carl, "Unknown Mexico," I, 414-5.

¹⁷ Bingham, Hiram, "Inca Land," pp. 267, 271.

¹⁸ Weedon, W. B., "Economic and Social History of New England," I, 103.

selves were of peasant stock accustomed to doing their own work, and that the Virginians' concept of feudal service extended only to their own countrymen, account for the absence of many attempts to enslave the aborigines. Furthermore, the intractable disposition of the North American Indian detracted from his value as a servant. The French had no motives at all for holding the Indian in bondage; they were primarily concerned in the spiritual welfare of their charges and in the fur trade which could never be developed through slave labor.

From the very beginning the Spanish government evidenced in its laws a desire of affording the aborigines a fair measure of justice and protection, and the fact that such generous provisions were not carried out can be attributed to the situation in the colonies where the whole economic and social arrangement was against control.

"The colonists needed a labor force in order to realize their purposes of exploitation, and it was unthinkable that men of their stamp should not utilize the one at hand, and the more ruthlessly as it was cheap and helpless. Under the facilities of communication of the day, especially as abridged for an enormous empire with a thin and scattered population by the Spanish system of isolation, there could be little respect for a distant, poorly informed, and slowly operating control. Add the inefficiency and vacillation of the Spanish authorities, and the picture of incompetence to carry legislation into effect is nearly complete. Finally, the very representatives of metropolitan control, the governors and viceroys, were largely imbued or soon infected by the spirit of their subordinates and outdid them in their own line; or were weak and inefficient, and overridden or intimidated even when their intentions were good."¹⁹

The humanity of Spanish legislation and the solicitude for the native races can be gleaned from a few examples. One of the early laws respecting settlement by the whites laid down the rule that, should the natives resist the settlement of a colony, they were to be given to understand that the intention in forming it was to teach them to know God and his holy law by which they might be saved; to preserve their friendship and to teach them to live in civilized state, and not to do them any harm or take them from their settlements. It was further provided that the settlement should be made in peace and with the Indians' consent, but where such could not be had, the colonists might proceed with the settlement without taking anything that belonged to the Indians and without doing them any greater damage than was necessary for the protection of the immigrants.²⁰

¹⁹ Keller, A. G., "Colonization," p. 273.

²⁰ Thomas, C., "Spanish Policy toward the Indians," in 18th Annual Report, B.A.E. (1896-7), pt. II, 540.

The importation of negro slaves to New Spain was largely a result of the paternal solicitude of the government and the clergy for the welfare of the American aborigines. This was proposed by their advocate, Las Casas, in order to lessen the burdens of the Indians. However, lest the Christianized aborigines be contaminated by other religions, the laws prohibited the introduction of "esclavos de levante," slaves of Moorish or Jewish extraction or converted to the Mohammedan faith.²¹ The regulations concerning the *repartimiento* or distribution of European goods through the medium of the provincial authorities represented nothing other than the good intentions of the crown. The idea was to supply the natives with necessities at a reasonable price and to prevent exploitation.²² In truth, the officials in charge considered themselves in the light of merchants who had acquired in their provinces an exclusive monopoly of buying and selling which was capable of producing a profit of from 150,000 to 1,000,000 francs in the short period of five years. These magistrates were accustomed to purchase consignments from Europe at a cheap rate and to force the goods, oftentimes useless luxuries, upon the natives at exorbitant rates. The natives thereupon would become debtors, and under pretext of recouping the capital and interest the magistrate was able to dispose of the services of the Indians as though they were veritable slaves. Prohibitions upon the officers engaging in trade only resulted in their employing illegal means to gain a life of ease.²³

The laws with respect to the employment of Indians in the mines appear most considerate of the natives. The villages in Peru were required to furnish annually to the manufacturers, planters and mine-owners of the neighborhood a certain quota of their laborers at wages to be fixed by the crown. The time of service was fixed, and the distance from their homes at which the Indians might be compelled to serve was stipulated.²⁴ In 1501 a law was passed forbidding anyone to operate mines in the New World without the express permission of the sovereign. This regulation and the benefits it conferred were made to apply to the Indians in 1526 so that they might operate mines in their own right. The exploitation of natives in the workshops of the colonists was forbidden by Philip II, who, in his zeal to protect the Indians, would have closed down all establishments manufacturing textiles with the exception of those run by Indian

²¹ Haring, C. H., "Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies," pp. 134-5.

²² von Tschudi, J. J., "Travels in Peru," p. 330.

²³ von Humboldt, A., "Essai politique sur le royaume de Nouvelle-Espagne," I, 440-2.

²⁴ Merivale, H., "Lectures on Colonisation and the Colonies," I, 272.

caciques in their own pueblos. In 1601 a decree was promulgated forbidding Spaniards in Peru to employ Indians in their workshops in any capacity whatsoever. This was to protect the native rather than to hamper the manufacturer, for he was permitted to use the services of mulattoes and mestizos.²⁵

Undoubtedly the most advanced legislation for the protection of the aborigines was that projected by Las Casas in the "New Laws" of 1542. This protector of the Indians incorporated and reaffirmed in his new code the most stringent of the preceding legislation garnished with pet measures of his own. The "New Laws," for example, re-prohibited the enslavement of the Indians, and declared free all slaves whose masters could not prove a just title. *Encomiendas* belonging to officials, churchmen and charitable institutions were to be surrendered, as well as those of masters who had abused their Indians; no new grants were to be made, and existing ones were to terminate at the death of the holder. The "New Laws" did not put an end to the *encomienda* system; but the government did not cease to scrutinize and attempt to control the *encomenderos* in their relations with the Indians as is evident from later legislation. Thus no *encomendero* was permitted to own a house in his village or stay there more than one night (law of 1609, 1618): not even his nearest relatives or slaves could enter the *encomienda*. He was prohibited from maintaining any industrial establishment in the *encomienda*, and could on no account sell his Indians.²⁶ The corvée was permitted for mining, road making, cattle raising, maize culture, and like production of necessities, but the natives were excused from service where the vine, olive and sugar cane were cultivated and from labor in factories and sugar mills.²⁷ In Peru not over one seventh²⁸ and in Mexico one twenty-fifth of the aborigines could be forced into general service, and in the case of mines only those living within a radius of thirty miles. The removal of natives from the lowlands to the elevated regions was prohibited, as was their use as beasts of burden.²⁹ In 1536 Europeans were forbidden residence or access to Indian regions not already occupied by white men, and in 1600 merchants were restricted to a journey not exceeding three days in such districts.³⁰

By 1800 the Indians of Mexico seem to have been no longer under

²⁵ Haring, C. H., "Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies," pp. 127, 128, 155-6.

²⁶ Bourne, E. G., "Spain in America, 1450-1580," pp. 258-60.

²⁷ Leroy-Beaulieu, Paul, "De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes," I, 12.

²⁸ Watson, R. G., "Spanish and Portuguese South America during the Colonial Period," II, 135.

²⁹ Bourne, E. G., "Spain in America, 1450-1580," p. 261.

³⁰ Leroy-Beaulieu, Paul, "De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes," I, 12-4.

the obligation of legal compulsory service, either to the crown or to individuals. But if legislation appears to have favored them, they were still deprived of one of the most important rights enjoyed by other citizens, for the law treated them as perpetual minors, declaring any act signed by an Indian or any contract entered into above the value of fifteen francs null and void. They were compelled to till the fields of the villages in common, paying a gross amount of rent to the proprietor and personal tribute to the crown. This tribute was originally regarded as a communal trust, but in course of time was diverted into the royal funds.³¹

We find but few instances where the Spaniards attempted to govern the aborigines through their own leaders, a system which gained so much favor among the later colonizing powers. Reasons for this seem to lie in the political theory of the day which attempted to centralize all authority; the widespread exploitation of the natives in the mines and plantations which necessitated removal from their homes, and the consequent disorganization of whatever native authority existed; and finally, in the fact that the Indians had never advanced to the stage of a strong and coherent state organization over which Spanish control could be superimposed. It was, however, provided in some of the early laws that the *repartimiento* or distribution of laborers should include their native chiefs.³² Likewise the laws protecting the Indians from the encroachment of whites and circumscribing them within certain limits seemed to favor local government by the Indians themselves. All the petty magistrates were members of the red race, but the majority of these were not hereditary or elected native chiefs but men who had acquired the position by political strategy or their ability to speak Spanish; occasionally the office was handed down from father to son. Under the circumstances it was to the chief's interest to maintain his fellow men in the deepest ignorance and to perpetuate the prejudices, the ignorance and the barbarity of the old

³¹ von Humboldt, A., "Essai politique sur le royaume de Nouvelle-Espagne," I, 432-3, 436-8.

³² Note: It is worthy of note that the Inca method of colonization caused far less disturbance to the political and social life of the conquered than the Spanish. As soon as a province was conquered colonists, or *mitimaes* as they were called, were sent to the subjugated country, to which they carried the arts and industries of a more advanced economic organization. At a later date many of these natives in turn might be sent to other subjugated regions as *mitimaes*. The Inca policy was never to deprive the native caciques of their inheritance, but if for any reason it was necessary to remove a chief the vacant office was given to his sons or brothers and all men were ordered to obey them. Thus the natives were always under the direct rule of their own chiefs who in turn were responsible to the Incas.—"The Travels of Cieza de Leon" (tr. Markham, C. R.), pp. 149-50.

mores.³³ One of the interesting manœuvres of the government was to grant to men of mixed or native blood who had distinguished themselves by their energy or capacity a patent of white, that is to make them equal to a white man; thus many of the chiefs became legally white.³⁴

Let us now turn to the effects of the application of European law and the extension of European political control over those regions lying north of Mexico. The general policy of the Spaniards as outlined above can be taken to apply to their colonies in Florida and in the southwest. That leaves but two colonial powers of any consequence which had to deal with the native question, France and England. The brief contact of the Swedes and of the Dutch with the American Indians can be passed over as of momentary consequence. The relationship of the French to the Indians was less of a political and more of a religious nature than that of the English, and for that reason will be taken up in greater detail in a subsequent chapter.

One of the earliest problems arising out of the contact of the English and the red man was that of the administration of justice. The colonists were never bothered by such questions as those asked by the Aborigines Protection Society of a later age: "Are ignorant savages to be made amenable to a code of which they are absolutely ignorant; and the whole spirit and principles of which are foreign to their mode of thought and action?"³⁵ To the colonist there was only one code—his own, and he had no hesitation in subscribing to its superiority and applicability to the savages. This is very well shown in the early laws relating to the Indians. Thus we find provisions such as that in New England looking forward to the establishment of Indian towns on the same political principle as governed in the case of the English. But when justice is in the hands of one group, especially when that group represents a higher cultural stage and is treating with a hostile race living on a much lower plane, it is but natural that justice should be somewhat one-sided. It would seem as though a dictum had been set up that "the white man can do no wrong" wherever the Indian was concerned. Colonial history is replete with examples of prosecutions of the red man for transgressions against the white, but very few of the white man for harming his primitive neighbors. From 1661-8 fifteen prosecutions are recorded against Indians for

³³ von Humboldt, A., "Essai politique sur le royaume de Nouvelle-Espagne," I, 438-9.

³⁴ Leroy-Beaulieu, Paul, *De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes*, I, 11.

³⁵ Quoted in Merivale, H., "Lectures on Colonisation and the Colonies," II, 162.

trespass and for stealing from the colonists, but only three whites were apprehended for injuries done to the natives.³⁶

In 1761 Francis Bernard wrote to the Board of Trade that the Indians

"are suffered to run in debt beyond their abilities and then are allowed to sell their children to pay their debts; They are suffered to harass one another at Law for trivial disputes, which sometimes end in the ruin of both parties; when they are condemned in criminal prosecutions, they are subjected to Fines instead of corporal punishment, so that where the Criminal only ought to be corrected, his family is ruined; In civil actions, they are charged with exorbitant costs, when it is known they have nothing to pay with."³⁷

The objections of the Delaware and Mohican Indians to American justice are interesting as giving the Indian point of view. They claimed the Americans continually harassed them, both in peace and war, by murdering their people, stealing from them, encroaching on their lands and taking their game from them. "They do us all the harm they can and escape unpunished; for we never yet heard of a white man being punished for killing Indians; we must therefore conclude, that neither murder nor theft committed on an Indian is considered with them a crime!" Furthermore, according to the aborigines, they were charged with the injuries they had done to the Americans, but the Americans neither said a word, nor would hear anything about injuries they had done to the Indians.³⁸

The idea that the same guarantees of good faith should be given to the Indians in contracts made with them as with whites seems to have been lacking to the colonial mind. Thus the governor of Pennsylvania saw no reason why the Delaware Indians should have any written evidence of treaties made with the whites:

"The Refusal of a Demand so just and reasonable, and which he had made only for the Sake of Truth and Regularity, awakened his Suspicion, and induced him to believe that there was a Design to lead him on blindfold, and in the Dark, or to take Advantage of his Ignorance. Wherefore, considering the Demand he made no longer as a Matter of Favour, but what he had a Right to, and not only as reasonable but absolutely necessary to come at the Truth; and, as it had been a Thing agreed upon in his Council at home, he resolved once more to insist on its being granted, and if the Governor persisted in refusing it to him, he determined not to treat, but to break up and go home.

³⁶ Weeden, W. B., "Economic and Social History of New England," I, 29.

³⁷ Massachusetts Board of Trade, 78 LI 14. (Quoted in Beer, G. L., "British Colonial Policy," p. 255, note.)

³⁸ Heckwelder, John, "Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians," pp. 379-80, 396-7.

This being made known to the Governor, he told Teedyuscung, that as no Indian Chief before him ever demanded to have a Clerk, and none had ever been appointed for Indians in former Treaties, nay, as he had not even nominated one on the part of the Province, he could not help declaring it against his Judgment. 'However, to give you a fresh Proof of my Friendship and Regard, if you insist upon having a Clerk, I shall no longer oppose it.'"³⁹

It is refreshing to note, however, that Virginia recognized the possibility of the white man doing an injustice to the Indian, for the law of 1661-2 stated that "If any Englishman takes from an Indian, peacefully engaged in fishing, oystering, gathering fruits, etc., any of his tools, etc., or does him injury, the Englishman is to be punished [as] for similar injuries done to white men." Also, "No person may imprison an Indian chief without special warrant from the Governor and two of the Council."⁴⁰ Protective legislation of colonial days is, however, more frequently to be found in those enactments prohibiting the white settlers from making private land contracts with the Indians⁴¹; here the purpose seems to be more to shield the colony from Indian aggression than to protect the native in his rights to the land.

The governments of England and of the United States have made but few attempts to control the Indians by native law and through their own chiefs. As suggested before, the very weakness of the native organization and the absence of a despotic government through which control might be exercised interfered with the development of such a method. Nevertheless the colonists of Virginia seem to have tried a system of governing those Indians living near the settlements through their chiefs. Badges of silver or copper plate, which denoted the particular tribe, were furnished to the chiefs. No Indian was to come near the English settlements without such insignia or in company with another who was wearing it. If any damage or trespass was committed by an Indian the king or chief was to be held answerable for the crime, the badge signifying the tribe and the chief responsible. The Indian chiefs tributary to the English were also required to give notice to the whites of the approach of hostile Indians. A few years later (1665) a law was enacted providing that the Indians were no longer to appoint their own chiefs; that was to be done by the governor and his successors who were to appoint persons in whom they had confidence. The colonists also adopted the expedient of holding responsible the Indian village nearest to the spot where the

³⁹ Thomson, Chas., "Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians," pp. 111-2.

⁴⁰ Hening, W. W., "Statutes at Large, Laws of Virginia," II, 139-41.

⁴¹ *Supra*, pp. 43-5.

murder of a white man occurred; it was the duty of that town to discover the perpetrators of the crime.⁴² The Jesuits conformed to Indian usage in the case of murder and required that the nation at large should make atonement for the crime by presents. This was found much more effective and to act as a stronger deterrent than to punish the guilty parties. Their punishment was their shame at the sacrifice which the public was making in their behalf.⁴³

Occasionally, where a very weak tribal organization existed and no individual stood out more powerfully than his fellows, white traders and others would attempt to create chiefs. For example, traders frequenting the Bering Strait regions were accustomed to make a sort of chief by choosing men who appeared friendly to the whites, and at the same time seemed to possess a certain amount of influence among their people.⁴⁴ Among the Point Barrow Eskimo, Murdoch observed, traders who did not understand the democratic state of native society were wont to pick out the best-looking and best-dressed man in the village and endeavored to win his favor by giving him presents, receiving him into the cabin, and conducting all their dealings with the natives through him. "The chief thus selected is generally shrewd enough to make the most of the greatness thrust upon him, and no doubt often pretends to more influence and power than he actually possesses."⁴⁵

Contact with the white races has tended to produce a gradual disintegration of the native political organization, which, though never strong and closely unified, nevertheless exercised a very necessary and important control. The white associates of the Indian were to a large extent men who could not brook the restraints of the civilized code, fugitives from justice, and traders whose sole interest was in their own economic gain.⁴⁶ The sharp practices of the traders led to the proclamation of October 7, 1763, which required all traders to take out licenses and to give security to obey such regulations "as shall be thought necessary for the effectual Prevention of those fraudulent Practices which have produced so many bad Consequences, and which it appears impossible to prevent by any other Means."⁴⁷ Contact with white traders had a very disturbing effect upon the political organization of the Omaha. The

⁴² Hening, W. W., "Statutes at Large, Laws of Virginia," I, 142-3, 218-9.

⁴³ Parkman, Francis, "The Jesuits in North America," II, 176, 179.

⁴⁴ Nelson, E. W., "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," in 18th Annual Report, B.A.E. (1896-7), pt. I, 304.

⁴⁵ Murdoch, John, "The Point Barrow Eskimo," in 9th Annual Report, B.A.E. (1887-8), pp. 429-30.

⁴⁶ Ratzel, Friedrich, "Völkerkunde," I, 563.

⁴⁷ Beer, G. L., "British Colonial Policy," pp. 256-7.

whites would lend aid to those chiefs and leading men who encouraged schemes for barter, and the Indians thus favored hastened to employ the distinction accorded them to enhance their own importance in the tribe. For instance, it is related that an Indian named Blackbird visited the trading post at St. Louis and came back a self-appointed chief.

"Blackbird was an ambitious man who loved power and was unscrupulous as to how he obtained it. The traders found him a pliant tool. They fostered his ambitions, supplied him with goods and reaped a harvest in trade. From them he learned the use of poisons, particularly arsenic. If an Indian opposed him or stood in the way of his designs, sickness or death overtook the man and Blackbird would claim that he had lost his life through supernatural agencies as a punishment for attempting to thwart his chief."⁴⁸

The Indian policy of the United States may be summarized as one of good intentions and paternal oversight, but without much order or comprehension. As early as 1823 the Supreme Court of the United States declared the political status of tribal Indians to be that of dependent communities, the political wards of the nation.⁴⁹ Inasmuch as the Indian tribes were virtually regarded as independent nations and negotiated with as such prior to 1871, very little attention was given to the internal political and social organization of the tribes. To all intents and purposes the United States, through their appointed agents, were only concerned with the external relations of the tribes,—that is, to preserve order and prevent aggressions upon neighboring white settlements. Intratribal affairs were left solely to tribal authority, which for generations had been in the process of decay as a result of white influence. Thus if one Indian committed a crime against another, it was regarded as a local matter for the tribe itself to adjust, regardless of the incompetency of tribal authority. Even in cases where one tribe made reprisals upon another, doing no harm to white men thereby, the government was not accustomed to interfere; no crime had been committed in the eyes of the law because it was not against a white man.⁵⁰ In the Indian Territory where the natives were left under the jurisdiction of their own courts the situation became most acute. More than 250,000 white settlers were under no control, nor did they enjoy the protection of any law, as the United States courts had very little jurisdiction over the Indians and the Indian courts had no jurisdiction over the whites. Not until the act of May 2, 1890, was

⁴⁸ Fletcher, A. C., and La Flesche, "The Omaha Tribe," in 27th Annual Report, B.A.E. (1905-6), p. 82.

⁴⁹ Johnson v. McIntosh, 8 Wheat. [U.S.] 543. See Wise, J. C., "Indian Law and Needed Reform," in American Bar Association Journal, Jan., 1926, p. 37.

⁵⁰ Schoolcraft, H. R., "Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes," p. 521.

this situation partially remedied when the laws of Arkansas, as far as applicable, were extended over Indian Territory. Later United States courts and courts of special jurisdiction were established in the Territory.⁸¹

Treaties consummated with the various Indian tribes show a rare mixture of near-sighted benevolence and disregard for the future welfare of the aborigines. This fact is readily understood from the following quotation respecting treaty-making and its consequences:

"A tribe makes a treaty with the United States, ceding the great body of their lands, and accepting a diminished reservation sufficient for their actual occupation. In consideration, it is provided that there shall be maintained upon the reservation, for the term of fifteen years, at the expense of the United States, a superintendent of teaching and two teachers, a superintendent of farming and two farmers, two millers, two blacksmiths, a tinsmith, a gunsmith, a carpenter, and a wagon and plough maker, with shops and material for all these mechanical services. This 'little bill' is presumably made up without much reference to the peculiarities in character and condition of the tribe to be benefited by the expenditures involved. As soon as the treaty goes into effect, the United States in good faith fulfil their part of the bargain. The shops are built, the employees enlisted; and the government, through its agent, stands ready to civilize the Indians to almost any extent. But, unfortunately, the Indians are not ready to be civilized. The glow of industrial enthusiasm, which was created by the metaphorical eloquence of the commissioners in council dies away under the first experiment of hard work; an hour at the plough nearly breaks the back of the wild man wholly unused to labor: his pony, a little wilder still, jumps now on one side of the furrow and now on the other, and finally settles the question by kicking itself free of the galling harness, and disappears for the day. The Indian, a sadder and wiser man, betakes himself to the chase, and thereafter only visits the shops, maintained at so much expense by the government, to have his gun repaired, or to get a strap or buckle for his riding-gear. But still the treaty expenditures go on: the United States are every year loyally furnishing what has been stipulated; and the Indian is every year one instalment nearer the termination of all his claims upon the government. Meanwhile, population is closing around the reservation: the animals of the chase are disappearing before the presence of the white man, and the sound of the pioneer's axe; scantier and scantier grow the natural means of subsistence, fainter and fainter the attractions of the chase; and when at last hunger drives the Indian in to the agency, made ready by suffering to learn the white man's ways of life, the provisions of the treaty are well-nigh expired. One, three, or five years pass. All the instalments have been honorably paid: the appropriation committees of Congress, with sighs of relief, cross off the name of the tribe from the list of beneficiaries; and another body of Indians, uninstructed and unprovided, are left to shift for themselves."⁸²

⁸¹ Handbook of the American Indians, B.A.E., Bull. 30, pt. I, 332, 464.

⁸² Walker, F. A., "The Indian Question," pp. 86-8.

Again, in the treaty with the Sioux, the Indians agreed to relinquish all right permanently to occupy territory outside of their reservation, but in order to provide for their sustenance they reserved "the right to hunt on any land north of the North Platte, and on the Republican fork of the Smoky Hill River, so long as the buffalo may range thereon in such numbers as to justify the chase." The treaty, in fact, gave the individual Indian the right to elect whether he would settle down as a farmer, or would lead the life of a nomad and continue to roam and hunt. Those who chose the latter course were to receive a lesser money annuity than the farmers. But, when it came to executing the treaty, the military authorities treated the nomads as hostile Indians if they left their reservation to hunt on the lands reserved by them in the treaty, and the government paid them the lesser annuity because of the worthless hunting privilege accorded to them.⁵³

The ineffectiveness of the treaty system was pointed out in the first report of United States Board of Indian Commissioners in 1869. This report urged the abandonment of the treaty system, and declared that the status of the uncivilized Indians should be that of wards of the government; further, that the duty of the government was to protect the Indians; to educate them in industry, the arts of civilization and the principles of Christianity; to elevate them to the rights of citizenship and to sustain and clothe them until they could support themselves.⁵⁴ This attitude was officially adopted by the act of Congress of March 3, 1871, which forbade future treaties with Indian tribes, but did not invalidate treaty obligations in existence prior to that date. The passage of this act, however, left the Indian communities in a most disadvantageous position. It struck down at a blow the hereditary authority of the chiefs, did not provide for the customary Indian assemblies, and failed to invest Indian agents with magisterial authority. There was left no semblance of authority for the punishment of any crime which one Indian might commit against another, nor any mode of procedure, recognized by statute or treaty, for the regulation of matters between the government and the several tribes. The only thing that prevented complete anarchy in Indian affairs was "the singular homogeneity of Indian communities and the almost unaccountable spontaneity and unanimity of public sentiment within them."⁵⁵

In treating with the Indians one phase of government practice which

⁵³ Manypenny, G. W., "Our Indian Wards," pp. 294-6.

⁵⁴ Quoted by Snow, Alpheus H., "The Question of the Aborigines," pp. 195, 206-7.

⁵⁵ Walker, F. A., "The Indian Question," pp. 12-3.

produced very unfavorable results for the natives was the so-called "peace policy." This came about as a result of the enormous expenditure in life and money entailed by the series of Indian wars during the fifties and sixties. Thus in regard to the Cheyenne war:

"No one will be astonished that a war ensued which cost the government thirty million dollars, and carried conflagration and death to the border settlements. During the spring and summer of 1865, no less than eight thousand troops were withdrawn from the effective force engaged in suppressing the Rebellion, to meet this Indian war. The result of the year's campaign satisfied all reasonable men that war with Indians was useless and expensive. Fifteen or twenty Indians had been killed at an expense of more than a million dollars apiece, while hundreds of our soldiers had lost their lives, many of our border settlers had been butchered, and their property destroyed."⁵⁶

The peace policy was simply a matter of expediency erected upon the belief that it would be "cheaper to feed every adult Indian now living, even to sleepy surfeiting—than it would be to carry on a general Indian war for a single year."⁵⁷ Virtually the only condition imposed upon the Indians was that they remain on their reservations and not molest the whites. In return for this the government maintained certain tribes at its own expense without reference to their ability or disposition to work. Thus some twenty thousand Sioux, declared Walker in 1874, were accustomed to gather around the agencies where soldiers' rations were dealt out to them, flour by the hundred sacks and beeves by the score which were turned loose to be shot down and eaten up in savage fashion.⁵⁸ In this way, then, the government policy of control has too frequently become one of pauperization.

One of the most surprising things concerning the government's Indian policy is that the status of the aborigines was for so long a time a most indefinite, hazy matter. "Treated as an enemy at first, overcome, driven from his lands, negotiated with most formally as an independent nation, given by treaty a distinct boundary which was never to be changed 'while water runs and grass grows,' he later found himself pushed beyond that boundary line, negotiated with again, and then set down upon a reservation half captive, half protégé."⁵⁹ The fortunes of the Indian changed so fast that his status was quite incomprehensible. The act of 1871 left him without any legal status; he was neither alien, foreigner, nor citizen.

⁵⁶ Walker, F. A., "The Indian Question," pp. 42-3.

⁵⁷ McKenzie, F. A., "The Assimilation of the American Indian," in *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. XIX (1914), pp. 764-5.

⁵⁸ Walker, F. A., "The Indian Question," pp. 30-3.

⁵⁹ Parker, A. C., "Social Elements of the Indian Problem," in *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. XXII (1916-7), pp. 264-5.

The Dawes Severalty Law invested Indians (except those in Indian Territory) who had settled down to an agricultural life with all the rights and privileges of citizenship but without any of its responsibilities for a period of twenty-five years. Such natives were legally incompetent to care for their own affairs, but nevertheless endowed with the ballot and "voted" by petty bosses who rewarded them the next day with a feast. The Indian didn't know what it was all about.⁶⁰ By act of March 3, 1901, citizenship was granted to the "Five Civilized Tribes" living in Indian Territory.

In recognition of the fact that there exist varying stages of development and capacity in Indians, and that almost all are ready to receive land before they are prepared for the consequences of citizenship, the Burke Law amended the Dawes act so that Indians who had not already been made citizens in accord with the earlier law became wards of the government without the privileges of citizenship upon receiving trust patents for land.⁶¹ Thus, says McKenzie,

"The Indian has no defined status. Taxed, he may or may not be a citizen. If taxed, or even if a citizen, he may have few or none of the immunities of a citizen; he may not—ordinarily he does not—have the control of his own property. If he is not a citizen he is incompetent to sue or be sued, and is not even a competent witness in court. Even whole tribes of Indians, every individual of which may be nominally a citizen, have no standing in court and have no right to sue for their claims, even in the United States Court of Claims."⁶²

It was not until June 2, 1924, that this unfortunate state of affairs was brought to a close. On that date Congress approved the act whereby every non-citizen Indian born within the territorial limits of the United States was declared to be a citizen of the United States and was endowed with all the constitutional rights of any native-born citizen. Thus he at last assumed a definite place in the body politic of the nation.⁶³

Let us now summarize the outstanding consequences of the application of European political control to the aborigines of the Americas. The economic conditions of the day were such that the Spaniards, as well as the Portuguese, were confronted with the necessity of a constant supply of labor for their exploitation of the New World. Wages offered no inducement to the Indian to supply that need, and the whites were but little disposed to employ economic stimuli where others, far more effective,

⁶⁰ Leupp, F. E., "The Indian and His Problem," pp. 34-5.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 64-8.

⁶² McKenzie, F. A., "The Assimilation of the American Indian," in *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. XIX (1914), pp. 768-9.

⁶³ Wise, J. C., "Indian Law and Needed Reform," in *American Bar Association Journal*, Jan., 1926.

were presented by the logic of the situation. The Indian was speedily reduced to slavery or virtual serfdom by means of the tribute system, the *repartimiento*, and later the *encomienda*, whereby he became attached to the soil. The native population in Portuguese territory fared no better. On the other hand the home governments, particularly that of Spain, were always interceding on behalf of the natives with protective legislation initiated under the influence of the pope and high Spanish ecclesiastics. The Spanish ideal, as embodied in the laws, was to treat the native as a free man, to Christianize and to protect him from the aggression of the whites; hence, the importation of negro slaves to ease the burden of the Indian; the *encomienda* and the isolation of the natives in their villages; the *repartimiento* of goods so that the Indians could have necessities and products of European manufacture at a cheap price; and finally, the detailed legislation conditioning the employment of Indians in the mines and shops of the Spaniards. The laws were explicit and humane, but the weak and inefficient central authority, poorly informed and operating from a distant point, could not enforce them. Indeed, it would seem that the laws were merely protests or registered criticisms of the state of affairs in the colonies.

In the English settlements of North America there existed but few motives for the appropriation of the labor forces of the native. The colonists, in large part, were endowed with the mores of agricultural England, and felt but little economic need for the services of natives so intractable by nature. Furthermore, the scarcity of the Indian population and the ease of escape made bondage impracticable. Very little protective legislation is to be found other than that which treated with the sale of land. As before suggested, the Indian policy of the United States was one of the near-sighted benevolence with but little thought to the future of the aborigines, as evidenced by the annuity method adopted in the cession of lands, and later, the so-called "peace policy." Certainly this system did not inculcate the mores of white civilization into the Indian. The aborigine had certain advantages, as we view the situation, placed before him. These represented the means to a more perfect adjustment to future life conditions. But the native's range of vision was limited to the immediate present; it was easier to gain his subsistence in the traditional way; he could not understand that he was living in a day when rapid and speedy adjustments were necessary for survival. Moreover, the vacillating policy of the government left the civic status of the Indian most uncertain until recent date, a circumstance which has had a most unfortunate effect in crushing the initiative and spirit of the native.

CHAPTER VII

DISINTEGRATION OF THE NATIVE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The contact of different race groups brings into full prominence the contrast and antagonism of their respective mores and customs. The more widely separated such societies are in culture, the more intense will be the conflict. The codes in themselves furnish a *casus belli*. Each group is imbued with the idea that its ways are the only right ones and is wont to look upon those of the other as ridiculous, perverse and even contemptible. This is especially true when it is a matter of the secondary mores, such as those centering about family customs and religion. Thus we, as members of a civilized society, regard our societal mores to be the best, the only true ones. They are adjustments for us in our present stage of economic and social development. We are used to them, brought up in them, and cannot, therefore, give an unbiased view of them. Consequently we are shocked and surprised when primitive man sees the ludicrousness of some of our mores and points it out to us.¹ As far as our code is concerned the savage is acting rationally, but with respect to his own he is biased. There is no immediate verification. It is as Professor Keller says: "You can persuade a savage of the inadequacy of his stone hatchet long before he can be made to see that his family system is capable of being superseded by one yielding better satisfaction to his interests."² A highly developed and civilized community cannot be fashioned at one stroke out of so unpromising material as a primitive race.

The decline and disintegration of the native social system can be attributed, in large measure, to the intolerance of the races of higher culture for the customs and mores of the backward peoples. This has made itself felt in many ways; for example, the direct prohibition of native customs repulsive to the code of the dominant race and the inculcation of a contempt for the ways of the ancestors in the young of the subject group. Other important reasons for the decline of the native social system are to be found in miscegenation and the selection by the "lower"

¹ See Appendix, pp. 359-60, for Sioux chief's view of civilized mores.

² Keller, A. G., "Societal Evolution," p. 136.

group of new usages, some of which may be adaptations from the superior race as a necessary consequence of new life conditions imposed by contact. Thus social suggestion, no longer protected from contradiction within or without the primitive group, loses its power to bend the individual will to those ways once considered necessary for societal welfare.³

Of the primitive customs inconsistent with the moral code of western civilization, anthropophagy and human sacrifice come in for the most severe condemnation. In one form or another cannibalism has been practised by large numbers of the American Indians. It was a common custom in the regions of La Plata. Thus Alvar Nuñez assembled all the native subjects of the king at the Ascension and solemnly warned them to give up the eating of human flesh, as that was a sin and an offense in the sight of God. The monks and clergy repeated this warning, and then presents, such as shirts, caps and other things, were presented to the natives whom they hoped to convert to Christianity.⁴ The missionaries saw the Devil in every faith except their own and could not discern that such native customs as slavery and cannibalism represented normal adjustments under certain conditions of savage life.⁵ The Botocudos were bitterly hated by the white settlers in Brazil because of their anthropophagous habits, and wars of extermination were launched against them. The Miranhas also were notorious cannibals, though here it seems to have been a matter of blood revenge and superstition; European culture, however, has successfully uprooted the custom.⁶ As is well known, both Spanish and Portuguese law encouraged the enslavement of cannibal tribes. The notion that the Incas were cannibalistic and had developed human sacrifice to a great degree is denied by Cieza de Leon, who asserts that the origin of such stories was to justify the Spaniards' cruel treatment of the aborigines. Indeed, if his account is to be relied upon, the Incas were responsible for stamping out the practice of cannibalism among all the people with whom they came in contact.⁷

North of Mexico cannibalism was generally a part of war custom and was principally based upon the belief that bravery and other desirable characteristics of an enemy would pass through actual ingestion of a part of his body into that of the consumer. The idea of eating any human

³ Ross, E. A., "Social Control," p. 148.

⁴ Schmidt and Cabeza de Vaca (tr. Domínguez, L. L.), "Conquest of La Plata" (Hakluyt), p. 129.

⁵ Burton, R. F., "The Captivity of Hans Stade" (Hakluyt, vol. LI), p. 146, note.

⁶ von Martius, Carl F., "Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerikas," I, 316, 538.

⁷ Cieza de Leon, "Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru" (tr. Markham, C. R.), pp. 79-80.

being other than a brave enemy was repulsive to most Indians.⁸ Cannibalism is also found as an expression of affection for members of the "in-group," and frequently serves for purposes of sorcery. Human sacrifices and sacramental cannibalism exist among the Bella-coola Indians of British America. Children of the poor were purchased from their parents for sacrificial purposes; the souls of the sacrificed were supposed to go to live in the sun and become birds. When the English government prohibited this practice the priests dug up corpses and ate them. Several were thus poisoned.⁹ It is the vital connection with religious mores and the supernatural which makes these customs of primitive races most difficult to eradicate.

Many times contact with the white race has caused the substitution of new customs appertaining to the higher culture for ancient usages which were quite essential for the welfare of the aborigines. For instance the wearing of clothing in the *igloo* has proven most harmful to the Eskimo:

"The custom—an adaptation whose abrogation has resulted in sickness—was to strip upon entering the *igloo*, the temperature of which, in the absence of ventilation, is high. Thus does the skin get a chance to exhale after being inclosed in fur garments whose pores have been filled up to exclude cold. But the crowded *igloo* allows of little or no privacy. Hence the naturalness of nakedness and the absence of shame; hence also a lack of chastity and decency as judged from the standpoint of codes formed under other conditions."¹⁰

Letourneau sees the disintegration of the native social system pictured in the disappearance of guest friendship and the acquisition of capital. For example in the Northwest Territories of Canada there are now rich tents and poor tents, and the occupants of the latter may die of hunger without causing uneasiness to their richer tribesmen. The savages will no longer render any assistance without pay. A missionary who had given many years of his life to helping the Indians was wounded in the foot; his parishioners passed him by without offering assistance, until he

⁸ Handbook of the American Indians, B.A.E., Bull. 30, pt. I, pp. 200-1.

Note: That there are exceptions to the above statement is evident from the explanation of a Miranha chief as to why his people practised cannibalism. "You whites," said he, "will not eat crocodiles or apes, although they taste well. If you did not have so many pigs and crabs you would eat crocodiles and apes, for hunger hurts. When I have killed an enemy it is better to eat him than to let him go to waste. Big game is rare because it does not lay eggs like turtles. The bad thing is not being eaten, but death, if I am slain, whether our tribal enemy eats me or not. I know of no game which tastes better than men. You whites are really too dainty." Spix and Martius, "Brasilien," p. 1249. (Quoted in Sumner, W. G., "Folkways," p. 331.)

⁹ Sumner, W. G., "Folkways," p. 338.

¹⁰ Keller, A. G., "Societal Evolution," p. 269.

called to one who responded, "How much will you give me if I carry you?"¹¹

One of the characteristic phases of Indian life was their great number of associations, fraternities and secret societies, as well as public councils and conferences. These things evolved from actual social needs and each organization, game dance, feast or custom filled some social need. "Civilization swept down upon them because they differed from our code; dances were broken up, councils and ceremonies were forbidden, and social customs frowned upon because they were 'barbarous'."¹² In the spring of 1909 a memorial was unanimously adopted at a gathering of the secretaries of the several mission boards maintaining stations in the Indian field to the effect that "inasmuch as the sun dance and certain other Indian dances are essentially immoral in their tendency, resolved, that the Department of Indian Affairs be requested to take more urgent steps to enforce their prohibition."¹³

Agitation and propaganda of this nature, developed and carried on by persons of narrow vision unable to see anything but wrong and immorality in customs at variance from their own, finally bore fruit on April 26, 1921. On this date Commissioner Charles H. Burke of the Bureau of Indian Affairs issued a document known as Circular 1665 to the effect that:

"The sun-dance and all other similar dances and so-called religious ceremonies are considered 'Indian Offenses' under existing regulations and corrective penalties are provided. I regard such restrictions as applicable to any (religious) dance which involves . . . the reckless giving away of property . . . frequent or prolonged periods of celebration . . . in fact, any disorderly or plainly excessive performance that promotes superstitious cruelty, licentiousness, idleness, danger to health, and shiftless indifference to family welfare. In all such instances the regulations should be enforced."

This order was further strengthened by a supplement issued under date of February 14, 1923, which contained the following important recommendations :

¹¹ Letourneau, Ch., "L'évolution du commerce," pp. 186-7.

¹² Parker, A. C., "Social Elements of the Indian Problem," in *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. XXII (1916-7), p. 258.

¹³ The Commissioner, Mr. F. E. Leupp, points out how little the reverend gentlemen actually knew in regard to the Indian dances: "I obtained a list of the gentlemen who had voted on this proposition, and wrote a separate letter to each one, asking (1) in what respect the measures I had already taken had in his judgment fallen short, and (2) what measures he would advise my taking for the future, to the end of breaking up dancing among the Indians. The answers were interesting as a study in constructive criticism. Every voter for the memorial assured me (1) that he

First, that the Indian dances be limited to one in each month, to take place in the daylight hours of one day in the mid-week and at one center for each district; second, that no dances be permitted during the months of March, April, May, June, July, and August; third, that none take part in the dances or be present who are under fifty years of age; fourth, that a careful propaganda be undertaken to educate public opinion against the Indian religious dances. A few days later the Commissioner followed up his order with a message to all the Indians:

"I could issue an order against these useless and harmful performances, but I would much rather have you give them up of your own free will, and, therefore, I ask you now in this letter to do so. If at the end of one year the reports show that you are doing as requested, I shall be glad, for I shall know that you are making progress, but if the reports show that you reject this plea, then some other course will have to be taken."¹⁴

In this arbitrary manner, then, the government has attempted to stamp out the collective religious expression of the Indians. It must be remembered that the various Indian holy days and holy seasons are held in as great reverence by the natives as Easter and Christmas among Christians. Planting time, blossom time, and harvest time are immutable dates in Indian ritual and the ceremonies incident thereto antedate by centuries the coming of the white man. Naturally enough, the Indians have not accepted these regulations with complacency. On August 31st, 1925, fifteen tribes met together at Santo Domingo Pueblo, near Albuquerque, New Mexico, and charged the Indian Bureau with attempting by threats and by overt acts to destroy their tribal life, to nullify their constitutional rights as individuals and to defame their religion to the American people. The defense of the Indian Bureau is that the religious beliefs and practices of the Indians are in some way immoral, a charge which is vehemently denied by the natives.¹⁵ It is plainly evident that unless the religious festivities of the Indians are definitely proved to be immoral, the attempt to

did not know what methods I was already pursuing, and (2) that he knew so little personally about the subject that he was unable to offer any advice."—Leupp, F. E., "The Indian and His Problem," pp. 248-251.

¹⁴Kennedy, H. A. S., "The Indian and Religious Freedom," in *The Independent*, March 6, 1926. Note: The orders of the Indian Bureau do have some justification from an economic viewpoint when it is considered that some southwestern pueblo tribes enjoy long drawn-out ceremonies, of which the Hopi have thirteen, each lasting nine days.—See Judd, N. M., "Everyday Life in Pueblo Bonito," in *National Geographic Magazine*, Sept., 1925.

¹⁵Kennedy, H. A. S., "The Indian and Religious Freedom," in *The Independent*, March 6, 1926.

suppress them or limit their observance is a serious breach of the liberties guaranteed under the first amendment of the Constitution.¹⁶

The present policy of interference, if it does anything, is apt to produce a stirring revival of religious emotion among the Indians. If left alone there is no question that in the course of evolution the dance will disappear of its own accord, for already the Indian has lost much of the zest he used to feel for the dance, and his faith in its efficiency as a religious rite has been badly shaken. This is indicated at the present time by the commercializing of the Snake Dance and various religious rites by the Hopi Indians and other tribes. The magical fraternities and secret societies are also disappearing as their social need wanes.¹⁷

In spite of the fact that changed life conditions produced by contact with the white race have left meaningless many old social customs, they continue as survivals in the daily life of the Indian. For instance the Peruvian Indians, even though accepting Christianity, place coca leaves in the mouth of a corpse, and hang round its neck a little bag containing various seeds for its plantations in the next world. The aborigines maintain some of the old Inca customs under modern guise; periods of sowing and reaping are celebrated with merrymaking and intoxication; dances, at which the participants' dress is similar to the mode worn by the ancient Peruvians in the Raymí (monthly dances), survive. These are frowned upon as relics of an inferior culture in the larger towns where the mestizo population predominates. One very interesting custom, recalling those of the Australians and other primitive peoples of performing what the mores forbid, survives on Christmas day when the "negritos" appear. These are Indians with their faces concealed by hideous negro masks. They perform the dances of the Guinea negroes and imitate the attitudes and language of a race which they hold in abhorrence. The "negritos" parade the streets for three days and nights entering houses and demanding chicha and brandy.¹⁸ Many of the ancient secret societies of the Aymara Indians survive, apparently more for social than for religious purposes, although they strongly partake of a religious nature.¹⁹

It is, however, with respect to marriage and the family that the most

¹⁶ In *Reynolds v. U. S.* (98 U.S. 145) religious freedom does not cover violation of social duties or extend to actions subversive of good order, such as polygamy, human sacrifice, etc. It does not seem that religious dances or festivals as practised by the Indians would constitute acts prejudicial to the well-being of society.

¹⁷ Webster, Hutton, "Primitive Secret Societies," p. 124.

¹⁸ von Tschudi, J. J., "Travels in Peru," pp. 259-63, 337.

¹⁹ Bingham, Hiram, "Inca Land," pp. 197-8.

far-reaching social consequences of contact with a superior culture are to be seen. In the arts and industries of native life there was a well-defined sex division of labor, and so firmly fixed was this that the Jesuits in Canada were quite unable to alter it to any appreciable extent. The missionaries were laughed at and called women when they got their own firewood, or performed chores which among the Indians were allotted to the women.²⁰ The savages resented the interference of the whites in their domestic affairs. In Baird's Relation there is an account of how the native husbands were accustomed to beat their wives for the slightest cause. One Indian, rebuked by a Frenchman for this, answered angrily: "How now, have you nothing to do but to see into my house, every time I strike my dog?"²¹ The status of woman was slightly improved, however, by the efforts of the priests, especially among those peoples who were made sedentary or partially so. Marriage and the home were made more permanent; conditions of motherhood were improved, and abortion, infanticide and child sacrifice were condemned and suppressed by the priests.²² Contact with the whites has caused a gradual decline of female infanticide among the Eskimo about Bering Strait.²³ In addition to the influence of the white man, an increase in the food supply might be given as a collateral cause.

Polygamy, alien to the civilized code, never fails to excite the greatest antagonism on the part of the whites. It is most frequently a subject for regulation; likewise the looseness of the marriage contract among the natives. The Jesuits held that the best way to render marriage permanent was to establish the European custom of a dowry for the bride, reasoning that the husband would not so readily leave a wife who brought some property with her. The dowry was furnished by friends in France. Divorce was not allowed in the communities where the Jesuits had control. The Indian attitude on this question is expressed by Father Le Caron:

"One of the greatest obstacles to their conversion is that most of them have several wives, and that they change them when they like, not understanding that it is possible to submit to the indissolubility of marriage. 'Just see,' they tell us, 'you have no sense. My wife does not agree with me and

²⁰ Lee, F. E., "The Influence of the Jesuits on the Social Organization of the North American Indians," pp. 76-7.

²¹ Baird's Relation (1616), "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," III, 103.

²² Lee, F. E., "The Influence of the Jesuits on the Social Organization of the North American Indians," p. 3.

²³ Nelson, E. W., "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," in 18th Annual Report, B.A.E. (1896-7), pt. I, 289-90.

I cannot agree with her. She will be better suited with such a one, who does not get on with his wife. Why then, do you wish us four to be unhappy the rest of our days?"²⁴

The priestly objection to polygamy frequently led to very perplexing situations. At St. Joseph polygamy was done away with among converts. But to those adherents possessing more than one wife the mandates, "Thou shalt not kill," and "Thou shalt not have more than one wife," together with the ecclesiastical prohibition of divorce, presented a very intricate problem. The missionaries decided that such polygamous marriages could not be dissolved, and that a man, for instance, having three wives might be held as an adherent until two of his wives should die, whereupon conversion could take place.²⁵ It is interesting to note that contact with the whites indirectly increased polygamy among the Omaha. The stimulation of the hunt and commerce weakened the old village life, created new standards of wealth and lowered the status of woman. Men took to polygamy in order to get female labor to work on the pelts.²⁶

One of the inevitable consequences of contact with the culture races is miscegenation. In Brazil the scanty European population took to the ways of the natives in its attempt to conform to an environment which it could not control; the adoption of the native mode of living facilitated an early fusion of races and several varieties of half-breeds came soon to be distinguished, for there was but little reason for emigration other than deportation for crime; consequently but few white women were to be found in the colony.²⁷ In the Amazon region to-day most Portuguese engaged in rubber gathering or trade take Indian wives. These women are of inestimable worth to their husbands, for without their knowledge of the native dialects and their influence over their own people it would be quite impossible for the ruling class to maintain the condition of Indian vassalage that exists.²⁸

The objects of emigration to the Spanish colonies—adventure and conquest—virtually excluded women. The privilege of migration was strictly withheld from single women, and it was difficult to get a wife who had been left behind. Consequently there was a prevailing absence of Spanish

²⁴ Le Clercq, Father Christian (tr. Shea, J. G.), "First Establishment of the Faith in New France," I, 221.

²⁵ Lee, F. E., "The Influence of the Jesuits on the Social Organization of the North American Indians," p. 215.

²⁶ Fletcher, A. C., and La Flesche, F., "The Omaha Tribe," in 27th Annual Report, B.A.E. (1905-6), p. 614.

²⁷ Koster, Henry, "Travels in Brazil," II, 167.

²⁸ Rice, A. H., "Notes on the Rio Negro (Amazonas)," in *Royal Geographic Journal*, Oct., 1918, p. 213.

women and mixed unions inevitably followed.²⁹ The official attitude was in favor of intermarriage. The lewdness of the Spaniards who cohabited with the most beautiful native women of Hispaniola gave offense to the Franciscans. Accordingly, Governor Ovando issued orders that the Spaniards must either part with their Indian concubines or marry them. Fear of losing their control over the Indians, which was considerably strengthened through these female connections, induced many of the Spaniards to marry.³⁰ Racial amalgamation early became a settled policy in Mexico under the rule of king and church. Charles V encouraged the legal marriage of Spaniards and Indian women, doubtless with the idea of ultimately making the population white; the church especially favored race-crossing in order to hasten the true Christianization of the people. Later, when Spanish women began to go to the colonies, their union with Indian aristocrats was sanctioned by the king and urged by the church.³¹ Miscegenation was brought about among some of the indomitable native groups in Chili by the natives carrying off white women whom they captured in raids made upon the Spanish settlements.³²

Although there appears but little reluctance on the part of most native races to alliances with the whites, the Tarahumares of Mexico form a notable exception. Until very recently light-colored children were not liked and half-caste babies were frequently left in the woods to perish or given away to be adopted by the Mexicans. Mothers even yet anoint their little ones and leave them in the sun that they may get dark. The general opinion is that half-castes turn out to be bad people and "some day will be fighting at the drinking feasts." In the border districts, however, intermarriage with the Mexicans is noted with increasing frequency.³³

North of Mexico the French intermarried to the greatest extent with the aborigines. French colonists were prone to see in the Indian a fellow human being, to recognize the native's pride and prejudices and finally to win his confidence by respecting his institutions and often sharing in his ceremonies.³⁴ The French priests would fain have adopted the Indian as a countryman, and even proposed that a number of young Frenchmen should settle among the Hurons and marry their daughters in solemn form. The aborigines were gratified with so pleasing an overture. "But

²⁹ Moses, B., "The Establishment of Spanish Rule in America," pp. 58-9. Bourne, E. G., "Spain in America, 1450-1580," pp. 265-6.

³⁰ Kerr, Robert, "General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels," III, 387-8.

³¹ Thompson, Wallace, "The People of Mexico," p. 29.

³² de Ulloa, Don Antonio, "Voyage de l'Amérique," I, 65-6.

³³ Lumbholtz, Carl, "Unknown Mexico," I, 417-8.

³⁴ Handbook of the American Indians, B.A.E., Bull. 30, pt. I, 475.

what is the use," they asked, "of so much ceremony? If the Frenchmen want our women, they are welcome to come and take them whenever they please [referring to the traders] as they always used to do."³⁵

The various fur and trading companies established for traffic in the regions west of the Great Lakes and in the Hudson Bay country were particularly influential in altering the social life of the natives. They brought into their habitat a class of men—French, English, and Scotch—who were not adverse to taking native wives. This was favored by the great fur companies as the best means of exploiting the country in a material way.

The Cree and Chippewa have perhaps furnished the most mixed bloods, followed by the Sioux, Ottawa, Menominee and tribes about the Great Lakes. Some intermixture of captive white blood is noticeable among the Apache, Comanche, Kiowa and other raiding tribes along the Texas and Mexican borders. The Pueblos have never favored intermarriage with the whites. The Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma—Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creeks and Seminole—have a large element of white blood, dating back in some cases to British and French traders before the Revolution. The Cherokees, in particular, have encouraged fusion, for under the former laws of the nation anyone who could prove the smallest proportion of Cherokee blood was rated as Cherokee, including many of one-sixteenth, one-thirty-second or less of Indian blood. The Cherokees have drawn the color line very strictly with reference to negroes, but others have intermarried freely. In 1905 there were over twenty thousand adopted negroes in the territory belonging to the Five Civilized Tribes. Many of these negroes are descendants of slaves formerly owned by the Indian tribes. The Pamunkey, Chickahominy, Narragansett and Marshpee remnants have much negro blood, and it is probable that many of the broken coast tribes have been completely absorbed into the negro race.³⁶

Considerable race-mixture occurred in the northwest through Russian traders. The whites, either by force or agreement, compelled the Aleuts to hunt for them and to give hostages, generally women and children. The Aleuts were thereupon given traps and sent forth to hunt for the season, while the Russians lived in indolent repose at the village, basking in the smiles of the natives' wives and daughters and using them as they saw fit. In spite of the apparent cruelty of the Russians they were much preferred to other Europeans because they assimilated more readily with the abori-

³⁵ Parkman, Francis, "The Jesuits in North America," I, 226.

³⁶ Handbook of the American Indians, B.A.E., Bull. 30, pt. I, 914.

gines than did the other traders. They lived together with and in the manner of the natives.³⁷ In view of the hostage system and the character of the Russian trader, it is questionable if his presence had anything more than a destructive influence upon native social life and customs. Wholesale miscegenation has taken place in Greenland, and it is difficult to find a pure-blooded Eskimo on the west coast. "The native women prefer the worst Dane to the best Greenlander and the half-breeds are the more eligible for their strain of white blood; illicit relations with white men are rather a glory than a disgrace." Race mixture is favored by the Danish government, but the mongrels resulting from these alliances do not appear noticeably superior to the native stock.³⁸ Among the Point Barrow Eskimo prostitution with the sailors of the whaling fleet is carried to a shameless extent by many women and is even considered a laudable thing by the husbands and fathers, who are always willing to receive the price of their wives' or daughters' frailty.³⁹ The purity of the race has steadily declined.

That miscegenation has had a profound effect upon the social life of the American Indian is not open to doubt. The half-breed, finding that the native race from whence he has sprung is undervalued or despised by his foreign parent, seeks to alienate himself from it and hastens to abjure its customs and prejudices and all community of feeling with those who belong to it. On the other hand, he is unable to adopt the ideas and assume the pretensions of Europeans and is constrained to take an intermediate station. In this position, uncontrolled by the usages or the habits of thought peculiar to either race, and unable to identify himself with the one and unwilling to align himself with the other, he becomes, as it were, negative in the scale of society, and remains a conspicuous example of one of the many ills which are entailed upon uncivilized nations by contact with races of superior culture.⁴⁰ The half-breeds of northwest Canada class themselves as the equals of the whites and look patronizingly at the Indians.⁴¹ von Humboldt was anything but enthusiastic over the results of the mixture of races in Mexico; the product is described as lazy, carefree and considerably below the mulatto in activity.⁴² It may be accepted as a general rule that wherever Spain held sway in America the

³⁷ Bancroft, H. H., "History of the Pacific States," XXVIII, 235-6, 250-1, 339.

³⁸ Keller, A. G., "Colonization," p. 515.

³⁹ Murdoch, John, "The Point Barrow Eskimo," in 9th Annual Report, B.A.E. (1887-8), pp. 419-20.

⁴⁰ Howison, John, "Views of the Colonies," II, 336.

⁴¹ Reid, A. P., "Half-breed Races of Northwest Canada," in J. A. I., vol. IV (1874), p. 48.

⁴² von Humboldt, A., "Essai politique sur le royaume de Nouvelle-Espagne," II, 37-8.

immigrant Spaniard held in contempt the creoles, and especially the mestizos, who formed the industrial element in the colonies; the mixed races felt superior to the native or negro stocks from which they had sprung, and the negro, with his greater strength and the favor of his master, treated the Indians with insolence and scorn. The different shades of color were classified most minutely not only by the force of custom but also by law. Each caste envied those above and despised those below.⁴³

Thus among primitive peoples whose customs were sanctioned and upheld by centuries of tradition came representatives of the white race with customs and teachings completely at variance with Indian usage. The very impact from the clash of two so widely different cultures could not fail to materially affect the social life of the "lower" races. The Indian's first adjustments were in the economic field, but it was not long before changes were produced in native societal life as a consequence of imitating the ways of the whites, the selection of new mores in accord with new conditions, the prohibition of native customs inconsistent with the code of the European, the education of the young and the growth of new social groups with the fusion of the European, African and Indian, possessing nothing but contempt for the ways of the aborigines.

⁴³ Keller, A. G., "Colonization," p. 220. Leroy-Beaulieu, P., "De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes," I, 11.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EFFECTS OF MISSIONARY CONTACT

The American Indians from the time of their earliest acquaintance with the whites seem to have been the object of missionary solicitude and care. In fact, among many tribes the earliest contact with white civilization was through the missionary. The ecclesiastic brought to the Indian an entirely new mode of life, both material and spiritual. Our present interest is to observe the effects which the application of that new code has produced upon the aborigines.

It was early discovered that the chief obstacle to the civilization and the conversion of the native was to be found in his wandering habits, occasioned by the necessity of covering a large territory for his sustenance. The ideal of the Canadian missionaries was to educate the natives in the arts of life, to bring to them French civilization, and in that way to render them capable of receiving the spiritual truths presented.¹ The spiritual life of the Indian was to be founded upon a new economic basis. In order to accomplish this the Jesuits desired to separate the natives from the Europeans, to hold them in tutelage and to remove the whites from those regions inhabited by their charges.² Furthermore, it was essential that the Indians be induced to lead a settled life, but the efforts of the Jesuits to make of the Indians a sedentary people were thwarted in every way. Their migrations nullified all attempts at permanent instruction of the young—engendered improvidence, lack of foresight and laziness. The fur trade encouraged these habits, depleted the game preserves and brought contamination in manifold ways. Even when apparently settled upon the land, the time-honored customs of the Indians prevailed and they would depart as soon as the hunting and fishing seasons opened. Not only the very nature of the aborigines seemed to conspire against the Jesuits' aims, but the Iroquois were ever present ready to break up the settlements and kill or drive off the Indian converts, and the English and Dutch traders, established in the neighborhood and not being impelled by the same ideals

¹ Le Clercq, Father Christian (tr. Shea, J. G.), "First Establishment of the Faith in New France," I, 214.

² Leroy-Beaulieu, Paul, "De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes," I, 149.

as the French, had inexhaustible stores of liquor to exchange for the pelts secured by the natives.³

In Spanish tropical America and on the Mexican and South American plateaus there were no factors in the environment which were prohibitive of the farm colony so much desired by the French missionaries. There was no strong formation of European communities to compete with and destroy the natives, nor an advancing frontier of the English type with its clean sweep and clash of elemental human forces.

"Since then there was no real race conflict resulting from the impact in the struggle for existence of rival societies, there was left a free field for the religious and benevolent operations of the exclusively male communities of the clergy; and there resulted that unconscious and gradual advance of frontiers."⁴

Under such favoring conditions the Jesuits were able to establish three great missionary settlements, or reductions as they are generally called, within the lieutenantancy of Buenos Ayres, but at a considerable distance from one another—those of the Guaranis, the Chiquitos and the Moxos.⁵ The reduction of the Guaranis of Paraguay was the most famous, and for that reason we may take it as illustrative of this type of mission contact. The first Jesuits arrived in this region in 1588, and immediately set dauntlessly out into the forests of Paraguay where they passed from tribe to tribe making converts in a wholesale fashion. They were gathered into a great reduction situated in what Koebel terms "the Garden of South America" where the modern republics of Paraguay, Brazil and Uruguay now meet.⁶

This country of the Jesuits had every right to be known as a state. The Guarani Reductions contained at one time from 100,000 to 150,000 souls, and were divided into missions, each of which held several thousand. The people of each mission were collected into a large village or town. The Jesuits, unwilling to lose the fruit of their labors by the violent incursions of the Brazilian slave-hunters or through the contaminating influence of the Spanish colonists, obtained by decree from the crown the privilege of governing the Indians under laws of their own contrivance, arming them for their own defense, and excluding from their territory all strangers or visitors.⁷

³ Lee, F. E., "The Influence of the Jesuits on the Social Organization of the North American Indians," pp. 72, 95-6.

⁴ Keller, A. G., "Colonization," pp. 296-7.

⁵ Merivale, H., "Lectures on Colonisation and the Colonies," I, 278.

⁶ Koebel, W. H., "Paraguay," p. 133.

⁷ Merivale, H., "Lectures on Colonisation and the Colonies," I, 279-80.

The people of each mission town elected their own *cacique* or governor, whose election was duly confirmed by the priests in charge. Likewise *corregidores*, *regidores*, *alcaldes* and other officers corresponding to those prevailing in the ordinary Spanish city were elected or appointed. In point of fact, however, their authority was titular only, for every function of power from the highest to the lowest was lodged in the hands of the spiritual governor. The native magistrates were forbidden to inflict any punishment whatsoever without first having notified the curate who examined into the matter, and if he found the accused to blame, permission was given to seize the culprit immediately and punish him according to the exigency of the case. If it were a more serious offense the culprit received several blows of the whip, which generally was the most severe punishment meted out, for, according to Ulloa, the neophytes were taught to have the greatest horror of murder and other major crimes. Punishment was always preceded by a remonstrance on the part of the curate, who pointed out to the culprit his fault so that the latter would be disposed to receive his chastisement as a sort of paternal correction. Military instruction was not neglected, each mission having its arsenal with sufficient guns, swords and bayonets to arm the militia for the repulsion of the Spaniards or hostile Indians. All men capable of bearing arms were formed into various companies, the most capable and intelligent being chosen as officers.⁸

The missions were recruited by inducing the wild Indians (Indios bravos, those who had not learned to make the sign of the cross) to join them, or by raids into the country occupied by peaceful tribes of Indians. In these incursions, dictated by excess of zeal and fanaticism, the priests and their militia seized all persons that they could, especially children, women and old people; they separated children from their mothers, and broke up the families lest a concerted attempt should be made to escape. The priest in charge of the expedition distributed the children to the mission Indians who contributed most to the success of the undertaking; these youthful captives were known as *poitos* and were treated as slaves until they were of marriageable age. It was the desire of having a number of *poitos* to assist in their labor which inclined the mission Indians toward such raids.⁹

The discipline of the mission was as minute as that of a school; the unmarried youth and maidens were locked in at night; none of the

⁸ de Ulloa, Don Antonio, "Voyage de l'Amérique," I, 544.

⁹ von Humboldt, A., "Essai politique sur le royaume de Nouvelle-Espagne," II, 40-2.

converts was permitted to outdo his or her neighbor in the matter of dress, the priests decreeing that every Indian should be garbed exactly the same, both in material and cut, as were his brethren and sisters. The men wore a species of shirt above short breeches, while the women were dressed in petticoats, above which was an armless chemise known as the *typoi*, for clothing was the mark of the civilized Indian. This uniformity was carried so far that even the hair had to be plaited into one or two tails. Indeed, to such a degree did this doctrine of similarity become implanted in the minds of the natives that after the expulsion of the Jesuits, they could not for a long time be induced to adopt any variations in their dress. The same theory of social and economic equality was made to apply to the very dwelling places which resembled each other as closely as one drop of water resembles another.¹⁰

In many ways the economic system of the reductions bore a striking resemblance to those advocated by socialistic schemes of modern times, but with one great difference—the Jesuits were able to enforce the observance of equality and their subjects were bound to them by ties of absolute unqualified obedience. The village land was divided into two portions—the field of the community and the field of God, the latter of which was cultivated by the labor of all for the purpose of raising commodities which the Jesuits exchanged for such articles as were wanted for maintaining the splendor of the ritual and other ecclesiastic needs. The other field was cultivated for sustenance of the community, and for obtaining by exchange those manufactured goods which were not produced on the mission itself. It seems that in the Chiquito Reduction each Indian enjoyed the fruit of his own field, but in the Guarani Mission surplus produce was sold for the benefit of the community by the Jesuits; this appears to have been the usual practice in most of the mission colonies.¹¹ The labor policy of the Jesuits was indeed one of great tactfulness, combined with a remarkable degree of insight and discernment. The day of the Jesuit Guarani, for instance, was mapped out for him with meticulous care. Every hour of his labors and restings was worked out to the minute, and even the intervals of his recreation were planned with the same exactitude. It is very interesting to note how skilfully the ecclesiastics combined the work and play instinct for their charges. They saw to it that the tasks of the Indians were made as attractive as possible. Thus the Guarani Indians, preceded by a small band of instruments, would

¹⁰ Koebel, W. H., "Paraguay," pp. 133, 136.

¹¹ Merivale, H., "Lectures on Colonisation and the Colonies," I, 280-1.

march to the fields singing chants, and when the labors of the day were over they would return in the same impressive fashion.¹²

"The communal arrangements, the pomp of uniform and title, the ceremonies dividing off the day, the seclusion of young women, the attention paid to diversion and play,—these and many minor details could not have gone astray in their effect upon native predispositions."¹³

As already suggested, the Jesuits were very jealous lest their protégés be contaminated with the outside world; consequently it was essential that they should take charge of all commercial transactions on behalf of their constituents. It was rare that a trader was permitted to stop longer than one night at the mission, and then any negotiations had to be made through the priests.¹⁴ In the Paraguay missions considerable cotton was raised, some of which was manufactured into cloth at the missions and the rest exported. A great deal of tobacco, rice, some sugar, and a large quantity of *yerba maté* were produced for sale outside of the missions. These products were generally sent to Santa Fé, Buenos Ayres and other markets, where the Jesuits had agents who attended to the sale of the goods consigned, and after the deduction of the tribute or tax which each village, or rather each Indian, had to pay the crown, they purchased whatever goods might be desired.¹⁵ The staple commodities offered by the California missions consisted of hides and tallow, about 2000 hides being cured annually and as many *botas* of tallow. These goods were disposed of by the missionaries either to a mercantile establishment in Monterey or to vessels in the harbor.¹⁶ The Franciscans of California were noted by early travelers for their readiness to trade, but here all profits were supposed to be for the benefit of their charges. It appears that at one time many local missionaries had acquired in some not very mysterious but unrecorded manner certain silver watches for themselves. When knowledge of this reached their superiors they were ordered to send the watches to Guadalajara to be sold for the benefit of the Indians. They were not even permitted to sell them to naval or military officers in California lest stories of missionary luxury in that province, inconsistent with their vows of poverty, should become current.¹⁷

¹² Koebel, W. H., "Paraguay," pp. 138-9.

¹³ Keller, A. G., "Colonization," pp. 292-3.

¹⁴ Leroy-Beaulieu, Paul, "De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes," I, 16.

¹⁵ de Ulloa, Don Antonio, "Voyage de l'Amérique," I, 543-4.

¹⁶ Beechey, Capt. F. W., "Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait," p. 314.

¹⁷ Bancroft, H. H., "History of the Pacific States," XIV, 164-5.

The principal benefit which the missionary, as an agent in the Spanish native policy, afforded the native was to introduce to him many of the economic and social factors of a higher culture. This was in accord with the theory of the Spanish government, which made it the duty of the missionaries to instruct the natives, fit them for citizenship, and finally turn them over to the regular clergy, for the missions were never intended to be permanent institutions.¹⁸ But this ideal could never be realized under the prevailing ecclesiastical practice, as we shall see. The missionary hastened acculturation, but in a restricted sense in that the savage was made acquainted with only those ways which the ecclesiastic deemed expedient. The practice of the Spanish and Portuguese priests was invariably to keep their converts from doing anything for themselves, to make of them great children, listening without understanding, and obeying without knowing why.¹⁹ The natives were completely isolated from contact with Europeans, other than their preceptors, and were never instructed in the Spanish or any other European language, save so much, perhaps, as was necessary to patter certain prayers by rote.²⁰ Thus the Indian was helpless without the direct guidance of his master. This is well shown after the expulsion of the Jesuits by the colonists who had long been looking on the growth of Jesuit policy and independence with discontent and jealousy. Under the civil governors the elaborate system of the Jesuits fell to pieces; the natural inequalities of society came to light through the fragments of the old artificial restrictions: some Indians became rich, and many more were ruined; but the tendency of savage life prevailed, and as the veneer of civilization wore off the habits of primitive life returned.²¹ The same situation resulted in California when the Mexican government emancipated the mission Indians.

"Accustomed, many of them from their infancy, to as much restraint as children, and to execute, mechanically, what they were desired and no more, without even entertaining a thought for their future welfare, it was natural that such persons, when released from this discipline, should abandon themselves entirely to their favorite amusements, pastimes, and vices. Those also who had been converted in later life would return to their former habits, and having once again tasted the blessings of freedom, which confinement and discipline must have rendered doubly desirable, would forget all restraint, and then being joined by the wild discontented Indians, they would be more

¹⁸ Bancroft, H. H., "History of the Pacific States," XIV, 399.

¹⁹ Merivale, H., "Lectures on Colonisation and the Colonies," I, 287.

²⁰ Watson, R. G., "Spanish and Portuguese South America during the Colonial Period," I, 272, 278.

²¹ Merivale, H., "Lectures on Colonisation and the Colonies," I, 286-7.

formidable enemies to the missions than before, inasmuch as they would be more enlightened."²³

In Canada, where local conditions prevented the establishment of mission colonies such as were found in the Spanish dominions, both the Recollect Fathers²³ and the Jesuits scrupulously avoided trade. Le Jeune explained that although they did not trade in furs, yet the use of such was necessary for occasional purchases within the countries, as the pelts constituted the only known medium of exchange.²⁴ The absence of the French priests in trade may be explained partially by the presence of the great fur companies. At first the missionary interests were conducive to the fur trade by bringing distant tribes within the limits of French influence; but as soon as the Jesuits attempted to change the habits of the natives, to make of them agriculturalists rather than hunters, and to oppose the rum traffic, they immediately incurred the enmity of that grasping commercial monopoly which controlled the fortunes of New France.²⁵

Let us now direct our attention to the methods of conversion employed by those intrepid carriers of the Gospel in the New World, and to the almost insurmountable obstacles which faced them. The work of the missionaries is indeed exceptionally interesting from the standpoint that they are endeavoring to change the secondary mores of the people among whom they are laboring. The contrasts and the antagonisms of the mores of the two groups, the savage and the civilized, constitute the stumbling blocks in the way of all missionary enterprise. We think that our "ways," particularly those connected with religion, are the best and that their superiority is so obvious that all heathen will eagerly embrace them. But savages and barbarians dismiss "white man's ways" with indifference, unless they can see an immediate objective which, of course, is lacking in the case of religion.²⁶

These facts are clearly borne out in a consideration of the difficulties which beset the religious teacher, and the expedients which were adopted to win the natives to Christianity. The native cannot conceive of religion, its purposes and aims, in any other terms than those of his own experience. Thus the Greenlanders

²³ Beechey, Capt. F. W., "Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait," p. 299.

²⁴ Le Clercq, Father Christian (tr. Shea, J. G.), "First Establishment of the Faith in New France," I, 250.

²⁵ Le Jeune's Relation, "Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," IX, 173-5.

²⁶ Lee, F. E., "The Influence of the Jesuits on the Social Organization of the North American Indians," pp. 90-1.

²⁷ Sumner, W. G., "Folkways," p. III.

"could not understand that the sin which Adam and Eve committed 'could be so great and involve such melancholy consequences' as that the whole human race should be condemned on account of it. 'Since God knew all things why did he permit the first man and woman to sin?' The idea of free-will seems to them, frankly speaking, mere rubbish, and, but for free-will, Adam's offspring would never have been corrupted and the Son of God need not have suffered."

The sacrament of the altar, and baptism likewise, was viewed by the Eskimo as the most arrant witchcraft. Once, when the missionaries informed a man "that he should especially thank God who had given him many children," he became very angry and answered, "It is a great lie to say that God has given me children, for I made them myself. Is it not so?" he said, turning to his wife.²⁷ It was almost impossible to convince the Indians that there was but one God who ministered to all. They would generally respond with some such argument as this: "If we had been of one Father, we should know how to make knives and coats as well as you."²⁸

Le Jeune states that even the most intelligent of the Indians could not comprehend the motive that caused the Jesuits to leave France and come so far with so much labor and difficulty. Observing that the priests did not claim any advantage or profit from their residence among them, nor from the kindnesses that they rendered them, the natives concluded that the Jesuits must have some hidden motive such as aiming at the destruction of the Indian race through supernatural means. This idea was further strengthened by the reluctance of the fathers to bestow the rite of baptism upon any except those whom they were sure would not abuse the sacred waters because of their proximity to death. Thus death and baptism were associated together in the native mind.

"It is useless to tell them that this our coming is to announce to them the blessings and riches of the other life; they have no conception of these, realizing no other good things than those they see with their eyes. And as we are obliged to tell them the blessings we preach are seen only after death, those speeches into which death enters confirm them more than ever in their notion that we make them die—so that the most moderate, and even some of our poor Christians, quite artlessly think that it is so in their case, but that what we accomplish upon them is through love, and through our desire to reveal God to them the sooner, and to give them the enjoyment of the blessings we value so highly."²⁹

²⁷ Nansen, F., "Eskimo Life," pp. 303-4, 306.

²⁸ Parkman, Francis, "The Jesuits in North America," I, 177-8.

²⁹ Le Jeune's Relation, "Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," VIII, 251, 253, and XVII, 7, 125.

In general, it was clear to the French Jesuits that their ministrations were valued solely because their religion was supposed by the natives to be a "medicine," or charm, efficacious against famine, disease and death. The fathers did not fail to seize upon this belief to further the propagation of the faith, justifying in their own minds the promises made to the Indians, because, as they fervently believed, the saints and angels were always at hand with temporal succors for the faithful. Thus at the town of Wenrio, where smallpox was raging, the people tried all the feasts, dances and preposterous ceremonies by which their medicine men sought to stop the pest, but without avail. At last they resolved to try the "medicine" of the French, and consulted the priests. "What must we do that your God may take pity on us?" Brébeuf answered: "Believe in Him; keep His commandments; abjure your faith in dreams; take but one wife, and be true to her; give up your superstitious feasts; renounce your assemblies of debauchery; eat no human flesh; never give feasts to demons; and make a vow, that, if God will deliver you from this pest, you will build a chapel to offer Him thanksgiving and praise."

At Ossosane, a few miles distant, the terror-stricken people accepted the conditions, promising to renounce their superstitions and reform their savage customs. One of the principal sorcerers ran through the streets proclaiming that the God of the French was their master, and that henceforth all must live according to His will. "What consolation," exclaimed Le Mercier, "to see God glorified by the lips of an imp of Satan!"⁸⁰

Many times the methods employed by the French priests in their zeal to snatch the souls of dying natives from the "infernal wolf"⁸¹ embittered the aborigines against them. Whenever a priest heard the wail of a sick infant he pushed boldly into the tent, asked to buy some trifle, or spoke of the latest news of Iroquois raids, and then, when suspicion was disarmed, would appear to observe the sufferer for the first time. The visitor then approached the child, felt its pulse, asked of its health, and, while apparently fanning its fevered brow, would touch it with the corner of his handkerchief, which he had previously dipped in water, murmuring the baptismal words with motionless lips. Another soul was saved! Many other devices were used to baptize dying children without their parents' consent, one of the favorite methods being to feed the child with sugared water and then accidentally to let a drop fall on its head.⁸² But baptism alone did not end the trouble if by any chance the child died. The parents

⁸⁰ Parkman, Francis, "The Jesuits in North America," I, 179-80.

⁸¹ A title often bestowed in the "Jesuit Relations" on the Devil.

⁸² Parkman, Francis, "The Jesuits in North America," I, 185-6, 206-7.

naturally would wish to bury their offspring in the accustomed way and in their own burial place, while the priests were just as desirous of interring the child in holy ground, and without the ornaments and provisions which the Indians thought necessary for life in the other world.³³ Thus the fathers incurred the antagonism of the savages.

Owing to the undeveloped state of the savage mind and the consequent inability to cope with the abstract doctrines of Christianity, the French and the Spanish clergy adopted the method of vivid portrayal by pictures and tableaux. The principal appeal of the fathers was to fear. "You do good to your friends," said Le Jeune to an Algonkin chief, "and you burn your enemies. God does the same." Hell was painted to the startled neophyte as a place where, when he was hungry, he would get nothing to eat but frogs and snakes, and when thirsty nothing to drink but flames. With respect to the value of pictures the Father Superior states:

"These holy representations are half the instruction that can be given to the Indians. I wanted some pictures of Hell and souls in perdition, and a few were sent us on paper; but they are too confused. The devils and the men are so mixed up, that one can make out nothing without particular attention. If three, four, or five devils were painted tormenting a soul with different punishment—one applying fire, another serpents, another tearing him with pincers, and another holding him fast with a chain—this would have a good effect, especially if everything were made distinct, and misery, rage, and desperation appeared plainly in this fact."

In a letter written by Garnier to a friend in France we find the request for a picture of Christ without a beard, for several virgins, together with a variety of souls in perdition, most of them to be mounted in a portable form. All the pictures must be in full face, not in profile; and they must look at the beholder with open eyes. The colors must be bright, and there must be no flowers or animals to distract the attention of the natives.³⁴ Pictures were likewise used in the California missions, the majority representing hell or paradise. The former, Beechey informs us, exhibited in the most disgusting manner all the torments the imagination can fancy for the purpose of striking terror into the simple Indians; the latter are described as ludicrous. Beechey ventures the opinion, however, that such representations may have some value in exhibiting to the dull senses of the Indians what could not be conveyed in any other manner.³⁵

³³ Le Jeune's Relation, "Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," VIII, 253-5, 267-9.

³⁴ Parkman, Francis, "The Jesuits in North America," I, 224, 255. Note: Garnier's directions show an excellent knowledge of Indian peculiarities—such as the Indian dislike for a beard, and the notion that a profile is a picture of half a man.

³⁵ Beechey, Capt. F. W., "Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait," p. 301.

The dramatization of scenes from the life of Christ was a favorite method employed by the Spanish monks who accompanied Pizarro's army in order to make religion as attractive as possible to the Indians. These spectacles obtained such a hold upon the native mind that generations later the efforts of the enlightened clergy for their suppression met with violent opposition on the part of the Indians.³⁶ Among the Tarahumares of Mexico the Jesuits and Franciscans devised various representations and festivals for the Indians to wean them away from their native feasts. Thus every Sunday during Lent the so-called "Pharisees" make their appearance; these are men who play an important part in the Easter festival which lasts several days. "They paint their faces hideously, tog themselves up with feathers on their sombreros, and carry wooden swords painted with red figures." To-day the feasts and performances are still observed; the teachings are forgotten.³⁷ In Guatemala, though nominally Catholic, the Indians still have their *brujos*, or witch doctors, and cling tenaciously to pagan customs of bygone days. As part of the funeral services the *brujo* burns a kind of incense made of pine pitch on the native altar built on the steps of the church. At this juncture the corpse is turned rapidly about several times, the idea being to confuse the departed spirit, so that it cannot find its way back to the land of the living.³⁸

The association of pagan customs with Christianity has frequently been used to gain converts. The Eskimo were much attracted by the ritual of the Russian Church. When they saw the priests in their embroidered robes performing the complicated office of the church, they thought they were witnessing the white man's method of celebrating a mask festival similar to their own.³⁹ The early missionaries in Mexico lightened their burden of gaining converts by associating and linking together Christianity and Mexican mythology. The Holy Spirit was identified with the sacred eagle of the Aztecs; the missionaries persuaded the Indians that in very early times the Gospel had been taught in America and they sought traces of it in the Aztec rites. For the Indian it was not a dogma superseding a dogma, but one ceremonial taking the place of another. The church festivals, processions, dances and other customs were accepted as a very fertile source of amusement.⁴⁰

³⁶ von Tschudi, J. J., "Travels in Peru," p. 264.

³⁷ Lumholtz, Carl, "Unknown Mexico," I, 138.

³⁸ Lec, Thos. F., "Guatemala," in National Geographic Magazine, vol. L, no. 5 (Nov., 1926), p. 644.

³⁹ Nelson, E. W., "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," in 18th Annual Report, B.A.E. (1896-7), pt. I, 422.

⁴⁰ von Humboldt, A., "Essai politique sur le royaume de Nouvelle-Espagne," I, 410-1.

Another method of facilitating the spread of Christianity was for the priests to procure adoption into the tribes among which they desired to work. Thus the Recollect Father Joseph ⁴¹ relates that he made a present to the Indians of what few knives and other trinkets he possessed and in return they adopted him, whereupon he was declared a citizen and child of the country and was then given in trust to one of the leading men of the tribe. By this act he became a relative of the tribal members, a cousin, brother, son, uncle, or nephew of the individual, according to the age group to which the person belonged.

"Such is the holy artifice used by the missionaries who go to winter with savage nations. They seek the most esteemed chief and the best inclined to the French. This Indian begets him (as the people say) amid a feast made expressly. This chief adopts him as a son or brother, according to the age and rank of the person, so that all the nation considers him as actually a native of their country and a relative of their chief, entering by this ceremony into an alliance with the whole family."⁴²

In considering the depth of religious feeling among the converts it must be borne in mind that the mental outfit of the savage is such that the abstract doctrines of Christianity are far beyond his comprehension. His savage mode of life left him neither time nor inclination for the development of such abstractions. Hence it is certain that a religion representing an adaptation to a higher form of culture can have but a very slight influence on the life of an aboriginal race which is still in the primitive state, or through the adoption of some of the arts of civilization has suddenly been raised to a higher plane. The Indians viewed Christianity from a very materialistic standpoint and the Jesuits soon found that it was much easier to make converts than to keep them. As long as the Indians clung to the idea that baptism was a safeguard against pestilence and misfortune the new faith was popular, but when the fallacy of this notion was made apparent their zeal cooled. The native was also troubled with various doubts concerning the substantial advantages of his new profession, such as the probable want of tobacco in Heaven⁴³ and the assurances of his pagan neighbors that he is already lost. If it were winter time, the poor convert's friends assured him that in the spring, if he were fortunate enough to live that long, all his hair would fall out, or that he need no longer count upon going hunting, trading, or to war, except with the

⁴¹ Joseph de la Roche Paillon.

⁴² Le Clercq, Father Christian (tr. Shea, J. G.), "First Establishment of the Faith in New France," I, 131-2. See also p. 265.

⁴³ Parkman, Francis, "The Jesuits in North America," I, 227-8.

certainty of bad luck following him everywhere. The women were inspired with the fear that they could no longer bear children. Heaven was not always an alluring reward for the matter-of-fact natives.

"Some say they do not see how, as they have so weak legs, they can make so long a journey and reach Heaven. Others assert that they are already afraid, and dread lest they fall from so great a height, not being able to understand how they can remain there long without falling." "

The natives of Mexico to-day profess full faith in Christianity, but understand it only in form. They continue to perform rituals for the preservation of their crops from drought and wild animals; they exorcise demons during illness and find their sweetest revenge in the use of charms and philters. Images of the saints in Mexican churches are worshipped with much the same devotion as would be given idols, and religious festivals are frequently distinguished by pagan dances and exotic ceremonies on the part of the Indians. It seems that the approximation of many of the special Mexican saints to the Aztec gods has had much to do with the veneration accorded these saints in Mexican religion. In fact, many of the important shrines of the Catholic Church are in spots formerly sacred to the Aztec gods, and that of the patron saint of Mexico, the Virgin of Guadalupe, is said to have once been a holy place dedicated to an Aztec goddess.

"The Church has always been lenient with native superstitions, and each year at the Church of St. Anthony the Abbot, in the heart of one of the poorer sections of Mexico City, a priest blesses a motley crowd of burros and horses, cows and goats, pet dogs, cats and parrots, while in some of the country churches the priests go so far as to bless sackfuls of ants, worms, etc., so that these pests, having become 'Christians,' may mix with their fellows in the fields and induce them to leave the afflicted farmer in peace." "

The Tubares of Mexico provide for the saints as they did for their ancient divinities. Lumholtz relates that he found a complete *tesvino* outfit—jars, spoons, etc.—ready for use in the sacristy of the church in the old Tubar village of San Andrés. The natives think that the saints, too, must have *tesvino* because they are greedy and exacting.⁴⁵ Similarly, the Indians of Peru embraced Christianity, but adhered to some of their heathen forms. For instance, on All Souls' Day the table is set with the

⁴⁵ Le Jeune's Relation, "Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," XVII, 127, 129.

⁴⁶ Thompson, Wallace, "The People of Mexico," pp. 178-9. Note: This last is given by Thompson upon the authority of a former Spanish priest, now a Protestant. Interview No. 433, Doheny Foundation Files.

⁴⁷ Lumholtz, Carl, "Unknown Mexico," I, 444.

favorite dishes of a deceased member of the family and the room is locked all day. They believe the spirit revisits the old home and feasts.⁴⁷ Although professing Christianity, the Aymará is an idolater at heart and will worship rough effigies of clay or any arresting natural object. In time of drought he worships lakes, rivers and springs; if frost threatens he adores the stars, lights bonfires on the hill, or buys masses, and if in trouble he consults sorcerers, practises witchcraft or peers into the future by opening animals and inspecting their entrails. Every pueblo has its chapel where is kept an overdressed effigy of the patron saint. Every year the saint is commemorated with an eight-day feast, which serves as a fit occasion for wild dancing, carousal and beastly drunkenness.⁴⁸ Among the Aymarás neither peasant nor pastor will drink a glass of brandy without making a libation of a few drops to the spirits of the mountain. In many habitations the fossil remains of prehistoric animals are set up as household gods. In the Puna district the shepherds fancy that they can commit all imaginable crimes, except murder, on Good Friday without fear of punishment. This is because God, having died on that day and remained dead the two following days, knew nothing, when He arose, of what had happened in the meantime.⁴⁹

The Pitt River Indians of California have adapted themselves amazingly well to all the material aspects of civilization, but on the spiritual side they have not amalgamated a single one of the white man's values. The play of the aleatory element in savage life and its transference to religious belief is aptly shown by a native's explanation of the religion of the Klamath Indians:

"... and then Jesus Himself and his wife, her name was Mary, they went traveling over all the world but their little boy got sick and they had to come back to Lutuan Lake. This here Jesus, he was a great doctor; he had lots of power; I guess he was the best gambler in the United States."⁵⁰

Nelson asserts that it was rare to find an Eskimo who, although attending church, really understood and believed the white man's religion, and not one could be found who did not believe implicitly in the power of the shamans and in the religious rites handed down by the elders.⁵¹ The general opinion of the Greenlanders with respect to Christianity and its

⁴⁷ von Tschudi, J. J., "Travels in Peru," p. 337.

⁴⁸ Ross, E. A., "South of Panama," pp. 88-9.

⁴⁹ Reclus, E., "The Earth and Its Inhabitants, South America," I, 369.

⁵⁰ de Angulo, Jaime, "The Background of the Religious Feeling in a Primitive Tribe," in *American Anthropologist*, vol. XXVIII (1926), pp. 353-5.

⁵¹ Nelson, E. W., "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," in 18th Annual Report, B.A.E. (1896-7), pt. I, 422.

virtues was expressed in the brief statement of an elder: "the Word of God and the words of skilful *angekoks* are equally powerful."⁵²

In Latin American missionary work we find relatively few examples of religious antagonism on the part of the whites; consequently the Indian has to a large extent been spared the occasion of hearing his religious mentors disparage rival creeds. This is owing to the fact that in the Spanish and Portuguese dominions the Jesuit, Franciscan, and other orders had the field entirely to themselves. But in North America, where Protestant missionaries came in direct proximity with the French Jesuits and the Mexican clergy, considerable friction occurred. Thus Lumholtz reports the priests among the Coras were ever on the lookout for Protestant missionaries, and when he visited that region the padre at Santa Theresa, concluding that Lumholtz was a clergyman, warned the natives after mass against the bad Protestant who was on his way to corrupt their hearts. "Do not accept anything from him, not even his money; do not allow him to enter the church, and do not give him anything, not even a glass of water."⁵³ Le Jeune informs us that the English hindered the efficiency of the Jesuits' work among the Indians by telling them that the priestly order was associated to destroy the world, and that in Europe the people put the Jesuits to death.⁵⁴ Leupp gives us an interesting picture of the confusion of religious creeds and beliefs in the following quotation:

"An old chief once expressed to me his deep concern because a missionary had warned his children that they would be punished after death if they broke the Sabbath with their accustomed games, yet he had seen with his own eyes a missionary playing tennis on Sunday. Another raised in my presence, with a sly suggestion of satire in his tone, the question of marriage. One missionary, he told us—referring to a visit from a Mormon apostle several years before—had four wives, and said it was good in the sight of the white man's God; the missionary who preached at the agency school had only one wife, and said that that was all right, but it would be wicked for him to marry any more; but the priest who came once in a while to bless the children had no wife at all, and said that the white man's God would be displeased with him if he took even one."⁵⁵

To sum up, missionary contact with the aborigines of America served to acquaint them with the modes and processes of a higher culture. The benefits to the native were primarily economic, for to him religious dogma was little more than magic. The necessity of changing the maintenance

⁵² Nansen, F., "Eskimo Life," pp. 308-9.

⁵³ Lumholtz, Carl, "Unknown Mexico," I, 505-6.

⁵⁴ Le Jeune's Relation, "Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," XVII, 121.

⁵⁵ Leupp, F. E., "The Indian and His Problem," p. 296.

mores of the native as a condition to permanent results in a spiritual way was early realized by the French and Spanish clergy, the latter perfecting their scheme in the reductions and missions. These were virtually native states under the despotic control of the priests, who speedily put in operation a most skilful adaptation of the communism native to primitive tribes who have not yet attained to an agricultural economy.⁶⁶ The policy of isolation and minute regulation, without allowing for the development of individual initiative, left the Indians in the position of dependent children, and when their guardians were removed the entire social system, so carefully erected, collapsed. But it is certain that the simple habits of industry and labor thus acquired were not without their effect in later days. The mental state of the neophytes was such that ecclesiastical dogmas of themselves made no impression. There was no depth of religious feeling; the natives were incapable of that. Linked with some phase of native mythology, however, the white man's religion was readily absorbed. The French missionaries were not without influence upon the natives under their charge, and even upon those with whom they did not come into direct relationship. Thus their influence modified and softened the manners of many unconverted tribes, as may be seen in wars of the next century, which are not so often filled with those examples of diabolical atrocity with which the earlier annals were crowded.⁶⁷ Missionary contact wore down the sharpest asperities of barbarism, and admitted the Indian to a higher economic plane.

⁶⁶ Keller, A. G., "Colonization," p. 291.

⁶⁷ Parkman, Francis, "The Jesuits in North America," II, 139-40.

CHAPTER IX

EDUCATION

On the coming of the white race a new era of education, designed and undesigned, began for the American aborigines. All the natives, young and old, were pupils, and all the whites who came in contact with them were instructors, whether intentionally or merely through the influence of their example and patronage. We cannot measure the undesigned instruction, but certainly its effect was profound, indeed much greater than that of purposeful education, for in the former case the Indian exercised voluntary selection of his own accord and adopted those ways of the higher culture for which there seemed an immediate need. At this point, however, we will confine ourselves to purposeful and designed instruction of the Indians by the whites.

The early education of the native was largely left to the missionaries as they represented the only organizations fit to cope with the situation. In Spanish and French territory it was only natural that education and religion should go hand in hand according to traditional usage. The Indian himself gauged a religion according to its power of meeting some of his worldly requirements. He wanted a practical rather than a metaphysical religion, that is, one which would assist him in the conquest of the material environment.

Leroy-Beaulieu says there are two alternatives in the problem of native education—whether one should introduce to the native races our customs and habits, and the usual curricula offered to civilized children together with our language, or whether native instruction should be without European direction or inspiration, and with allowance for the natives to develop their own culture.¹ It is quite evident that the latter course is to be avoided, because in competition with the whites the old culture will of its own weight crumble and fall. Adjustments are necessary and it is the duty of the educator to further them, even though it result in the more rapid disintegration of old customs which, under new conditions of life, no longer meet the test of expediency. It would seem, rather, that the question is whether the native should be put through the same course of

¹ Leroy-Beaulieu, Paul, "De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes," II, 626-7.

instruction as we give to our own children, or whether the education should be more along those lines which contribute directly to the maintenance organization of the Indian.

The English, and to a considerable extent the French missionaries, appear to have placed an undue stress upon cultural and religious education. Thus referring to the missionaries in Canada Sir Alexander Mackenzie says:

"If they had been as well acquainted with human nature as they were with the articles of their faith, they would have known that the uncultivated mind of an Indian must be disposed by much preparatory method and instruction to receive the revealed truths of Christianity, to act under its sanctions, and be impelled to good by the hope of its reward, or turned from evil by the fear of its punishments. They should have begun their work by teaching some of those useful arts which are the inlets of knowledge, and lead the mind by degrees to objects of higher comprehension."²

This is evident in the accounts of the mission school founded by Le Jeune. The first thing he did was to teach the children to pray in Latin. His methods were unique. When parties of Indians encamped in the neighborhood he would take his stand at the door and ring a bell. At this numbers of children would gather around him, and he, leading them into the refectory which was improvised as a schoolroom, taught them to repeat after him the Pater, Ave, and Credo. The mystery of the Trinity was expounded; the children were made to repeat a prayer in the Indian language, followed by a lesson in the catechism, and when all was over the priest rewarded each of his pupils with a porringer of peas to insure their attendance at his next bell-ringing.³ Although the work of the French Jesuits was largely in the field of religious education, which of itself does not seem to have been very effective, the presence of French children in the schools redounded to the benefit of the native youth in that they more readily fell into the ways of the whites; it narrowed the chasm between the two cultures. "The missionaries seemed to take it as a sign of progress whenever an Indian child had been with them long enough to be frightened at, or make fun of, the dress and manners of one of his own people." Another motive for conducting schools for Indian children was the practice of holding a certain number as hostages in order to insure good treatment from their tribes. This was advocated by the French governors as well as by the Jesuits.⁴

² Mackenzie, Sir Alexander, "Voyages—and an Account of the Fur Trade," I, iv.

³ Parkman, Francis, "The Jesuits in North America," I, 107.

⁴ Lee, F. E., "The Influence of the Jesuits on the Social Organization of the North American Indians," pp. 185-6.

Considerable attention was given by the English to Indian education in colonial times, but it was almost invariably of an academic nature. The council of Jamestown in 1619 voted to educate Indian children in religion, a civil course of life, and in some useful trade. William and Mary College, founded in 1691, made special provision for the instruction of Indians and through the charity of Robert Boyle was enabled to found a boarding school for them. Harvard and Yale offered instruction for Indian youth, as well as Moore's Charity School, founded by Rev. Eleazer Wheelock in 1754 at Lebanon, Connecticut, and later transferred to Hanover, New Hampshire, under the name of Dartmouth College. Even as late as 1776 money was voted by the Continental Congress to support Indian students at Dartmouth and Princeton Colleges. The net gain from this type of education for members of a savage race seems to have been very small indeed.⁵

More recent examples of this impractical method of education, which in the United States has taken the form of book knowledge, are legion. Catlin states that the missionaries whom he observed commenced their labors where they should have ended them, that is, in the field of the secondary mores.⁶ At a later date Schoolcraft informs us:

"There are evidently some defects in the system. There is too much expended for costly buildings, and the formation of a kind of literary institutes of much too high a grade, where some few of the Indians are withdrawn and very expensively supported, and undergo a sort of incarceration for a time, and are then sent back to the bosom of the tribes, with the elements of the knowledge of letters and history, which their parents and friends are utterly unable to appreciate, and which they, in fact, ridicule. The instructed youth are soon discouraged, and they most commonly fall back into habits worse than before, and end their course by inebriety, while the body of the tribe is nowise bettered. Whatever the defects are, there are certainly some things to amend in our measures and general policy."⁷

Indian education of the twentieth century tends to follow the beaten paths, with a few notable exceptions. The results of the government's educational bounty have been deplorable. Superintendents and principals in charge of Indian schools in their desire to make a good showing have been disposed to drive a bargain on almost any terms with the head of a large family or some leader in a tribe who could influence many parents. A custom grew up of actually *paying* Indians on some outwardly respectable pretext to send their children to boarding school; and when once the

⁵ Handbook of the American Indians, B.A.E., Bull. 30, pt. I, 416, 884.

⁶ Catlin, George, "North American Indians," II, 27.

⁷ Schoolcraft, H. R., "Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes," p. 325.

parents learned that they could not only propitiate the government, but at the same time be saved further expense for clothing and feeding their offspring, the descent from independence to mendicancy was quickly facilitated. The boarding schools, conducted on the plans laid down by the government for the civilization of the Indian and furnishing gratuitously not only tuition, but food, clothing, lodging and medical supervision during the whole period for which the pupil is enrolled, are characterized by Leupp as educational almshouses.⁸

The situation would not be so serious if the average Indian boy or girl were able to utilize the vast store of literary knowledge with which he or she is burdened. But few of the Indian school graduates have any definite expectations or ambitions for the future. At one school a few reported that they thought they would like to be missionaries; one boy believed "the government ought to give him a job"; another had determined to become a musician. In the entire class only one had made up his mind to go back home and help his father cultivate their farm. Not one graduate had perfected himself in any skilled trade, but it is safe to say that before long almost every one came to the realization that if he had devoted his energies to learning how to shoe a horse, build a house, repair wagons, manage a stable or dairy, or something else which he could have continued to do after his return home, he might have remained of humbler mind, but he would have grown richer in character and in purse. Furthermore, the Indian who has mastered one of the professions finds it doubly hard to gain a footing. For example, if he becomes a physician he has to meet deadly competition with white physicians in any white community, and among his own people the medicine men fight him with venom. If he is a lawyer the whites seek to use him as a catspaw for shady schemes, while his own people distrust and suspect him.⁹

The above facts are sufficient to indicate that the real need of the Indian child is an industrial education which will perfect him in the practical demands of every-day life. The Indian boy whose time has been utilized by learning to repair a broken harness, or straighten a sprung tire on his wagon wheel and to do the innumerable chores which are demanded of the busy farmer is immeasurably better equipped in the struggle of life than his brother who has been stuffed with academic training. And the girl who has acquired not only the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic, but has learned how to make and mend her clothing, wash and iron, and cook the family dinner is worth far more

⁸ Leupp, F. E., "The Indian and His Problem," pp. 32-3, 137.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 117, 118, 120.

to the native community than the one who has given her time to purely cultural studies. The Indians themselves recognize this fact as is apparent whenever requests have been made for instruction. For example, as early as 1757 the Delaware Indians requested that they be granted the right to make a permanent settlement at Wyoming and that the whites send teachers to give them instruction in building houses and in making such necessities as were needful to a farming life; also to instruct their children in reading and writing.¹⁰

It was the economic approach of the Spanish clergy which facilitated the growth of the missions in the colonial days. "In fact," Keller informs us, "every mission was an industrial school, in which the simple arts were taught by the friars, themselves in origin plain Spanish peasants." The Indians were not slow to see the advantages of the higher standard of economy placed before them by the priests, and soon experienced the benefits of the coöperatively organized struggle for existence initiated by their guardians.¹¹ The accumulated wealth and the productivity of the missions, together with the higher standards of living to which the mission Indians have become accustomed, attest the soundness of the padres' theories.¹²

General education for the masses is decidedly unpopular with all classes in Latin America. For the children of the peons the Church desires no education other than that drill in the rudiments of her faith which she herself provides. Her primary interest is to save souls, and in comparison providing the children of the natives with a chance to "rise in life" is of trifling importance. Rather, let the children of the well-to-do be trained to fill those high and comfortable places in life to which it has pleased God to call them, while the children of the peons follow in their

¹⁰ Thompson, Chas., "Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians," pp. 115-6.

¹¹ Keller, A. G., "Colonization," pp. 287, 289.

¹² It must not be thought, however, that the agricultural standards of the missions measured up to the efficiency of the independent farmer, for, says Beechey, referring to a California mission: "It will scarcely be credited by agriculturalists in other countries, that there were seventy ploughs and two hundred oxen at work upon a piece of light ground of ten acres; nor did the overseers appear to consider that number unnecessary, as the padre called our attention to this extraordinary advancement of the Indians in civilization, and pointed out the most able workmen as the ploughs passed us in succession."¹³ It would seem, however, that the industrial education of the Indian is being neglected in some places, as is indicated by Rice's report on the natives of the Rio Negro in which he states that too much emphasis is placed upon theological dogma and little or none upon the practical matters of life.¹⁴

¹³ Beechey, Capt. F. W., "Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait," p. 314.

¹⁴ Rice, A. H., "Notes on the Rio Negro (Amazonas)," in *Royal Geographic Journal*, Oct., 1918, pp. 213-4.

fathers' footsteps. Secular education will not promote their eternal welfare and it *may* endanger it. The priest wants to keep the peons in a state of ignorance so that he may preserve his authority over them, keep their feet from straying from the path of eternal salvation and be relieved from the necessity of defending his doctrines, combating heresies and meeting the competition of the Protestant missionary. If, however, education must come, the Church wants to provide it herself in her own parish school where "religion saturates the entire course of a study."¹⁵ It is interesting to note, however, that in Colombia, where all education is in the hands of the Church, the clergy inclines in favor of industrial training. The priests have devised a school system whereby they take the young children as *internes* and train them in the practical arts of life.¹⁶

The landed proprietors look askance upon education for the Indian. It is incompatible with their prosperity which rests upon a cheap labor supply and the exploitation of the workers. Professor Ross observes that

"The owners of the estates sell all their product at its world-market price, but they buy their labor at an arbitrary figure far below its true market worth. They tie the peon with debt so that he must accept whatever they allow him. They defraud him because he is too ignorant to reckon the amount of his debt to the *amo* or to check up the account of his purchases at the *amo's* store. Unable to read he learns nothing of his rights or of better chances in other jobs. Hence it is a part of the master's game to keep knowledge from his peons in order that they may remain helpless, unambitious and submissive to the master's will. . . . Of course in these humanitarian days the masters conceal the nakedness of their avarice under a decent drapery of phrases, insisting that schooling will 'spoil' the children of the peon, give them 'foolish notions' or make them 'feel above their work.'"

Thus the ordinary landed proprietor in Chili disapproves of popular schools lest the children of the *inquilino* grow up dissatisfied, restless and migratory. They desire to retain the son in his father's mud hut, content with the old wage and the old hard, rough life, attached to the hacienda and its master and deaf to the call of opportunity elsewhere. Both master and serf would agree that the children of the poor ought to follow the father's calling and that to aspire to anything higher is a piece of presumption.¹⁷

The Indians of the Sierra have no use for education, and protest that reading and writing make one a rascal. To them such a belief appears only too well founded because the clever, educated Indian has so often

¹⁵ Ross, E. A., "South of Panama," pp. 253-4, 256.

¹⁶ Eder, P. J., "Colombia," pp. 250-1.

¹⁷ Ross, E. A., "South of Panama," pp. 254-5.

turned shyster and used his knowledge of letters to trick and exploit his illiterate brethren. The Kechua youth who has been educated in some *colegio* in Peru invariably reverts to the old mores of his tribe once he is back among his people. The Indians of Chili care little for education and will let their children run wild rather than send them to school. Bolivia is making a noteworthy effort to dispel the ignorance in which the rural population lives by sending out circuit-riding schoolmasters, who go about from village to village holding in each a brief term of school.¹⁸ It is quite evident that the Latin Americans have deviated widely from the aim of the early Spanish clergy in providing an industrial education for the aborigines; what education is afforded to-day is generally of the academic type entirely unsuited to the economic or social advance of the Indians.

The tendency in modern education is toward an extension of industrial and vocational training, and it is but natural that this idea should be carried over in full force to the Indian schools in the United States. The need and value of such training for Indian children in particular were never visualized until the general trend of education in that direction had already taken place. This is evident in the comparatively recent growth of industrial schools for Indians.

The Society of Friends in their operations in the Mississippi Valley gave first consideration to the Indian's economic instruction; they started model stores, built carpenter shops and like enterprises for the education of the native.¹⁹

The Carlisle School, established in 1879 at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, was the earliest non-reservation institution of this type. Its purpose, as expressed by its founder, General Pratt, is "to teach English and give a primary education and a knowledge of some common and practical industry and means of support among civilized people. To this end regular shops and farms were provided, where the principal mechanical arts and farming are taught the boys, and the girls [are] taught cooking, sewing, laundry and housework." Carlisle School was the first to adopt the "outing system" whereby Indian children are placed in the homes of white families during the summer months, thus enabling them by direct example and association to acquire the mores of civilized life. The original plan of the school officials was to induce its graduates to remain in the East, and to merge into the general white population rather than to return to tribal life in reservation homes, but this plan was never successful. Consequently some changes had to be made in the type of instruction offered. In general,

¹⁸ Ross, E. A., "South of Panama," pp. 256-7, 261.

¹⁹ Leupp, F. E., "The Indian and His Problem," pp. 291-2.

the aim of the school is to give practical productive training to each pupil in accord with his particular aptitude and ability.

Another very interesting example illustrating the trend toward vocational education for the aborigines is the Chilocco Indian Industrial School. This is a government school located on a reserve of thirteen sections of land (8320 acres) in the northern part of Oklahoma and was opened in 1884 with 186 pupils. The primary purpose in establishing the school on such a large tract was to make possible the allotment of small farms to Indian youth who had acquired the theory of agriculture at the school. In this manner they could be given the opportunity to put in practice the knowledge which they had gained. Although the principal emphasis is placed upon agriculture, particular attention is also given to the instruction of boys in the trades, especially those useful to the farmer, such as blacksmithing, horse-shoeing, wagon-making, carpentry, painting, stone and bricklaying and the like. The industrial training of every pupil is supplemented by a grammar school education.²⁰

It is thus clear that the most suitable type of instruction for the children of the aborigines is industrial in nature. The Indians have not acquired the maintenance mores of the civilized peoples in their entirety. It is of primary importance to the Indian that he be able to provide for himself and family under the increasingly competitive conditions of contact, and the only way he can do that is to be well-grounded in the fundamentals of industry.

²⁰ Handbook of the American Indians, B.A.E., Bull. 30, pt. I, 207, 268-9.

CHAPTER X

DEPOPULATION

The rapid decline of many aboriginal groups in the Americas is one of the outstanding consequences of the conflict of races and the clash of cultures initiated with the coming of the white man. The causes of such decimation are numerous, but so closely interwoven that it is impossible to assign any one as the predominant factor involved. It will be our task in this chapter to present in brief review the various conditions which have produced the decay of a once numerous native race.

In Spanish colonial days the desire of the *conquistadores* for an immediate return for their services, together with the discovery of the precious metals, created a heavy demand for labor. The relative unattractiveness of agriculture compared with the lure of gold and silver meant the utilization of the native labor force, granted under the earlier *repartimientos*, almost exclusively in the mines. At first the term lasted six months, and later eight, involving, since the mines were generally distant from population centers, the separation of families. The excessive burdens placed upon the women weakened them so that they could not nourish their infants, thus producing a heavy infant mortality.¹ The labor in the mines was difficult, rations scanty, and the workers were subjected to the greatest cruelty, as their masters were rude adventurers and cared nothing about the sacrifice of human life as long as the labor supply seemed inexhaustible; they were impelled only by the desire for the maximum immediate gain and rarely concerned themselves with the welfare of their workers.² For example, Las Casas mentions one Spaniard who received a grant of 300 Indians for work in his mines. At the end of three months 270 had perished as a result of excessive labor. He was then allowed a further allotment of 300 Indians who died off just as rapidly as the first.³ The sudden transition from the sultry valleys to the lofty mountain altitudes where the best mines were located accounted for the speedy depopulation of the natives of Peru. The native, says von

¹ Las Casas, "Oeuvres," by Llorente, J. A., I, 20.

² Bourne, E. G., "Spain in America, 1450-1580," pp. 210-1. Haebler, K., "Amerika," in Helmolt's "Weltgeschichte," I, 396.

³ Las Casas, "Oeuvres," by Llorente, J. A., I, 25.

Humboldt, does not possess the adaptability of the white man and consequently suffers to a greater degree from the inability to acclimatize himself.⁴ The Aymarás declined so rapidly in numbers as a result of conscription for the mines that fears were entertained of their total extinction. Judging from the innumerable remains of buildings and the extensive burial places in the vicinity of Lake Titicaca this region, which is now so sparsely inhabited, must have at one time been thickly populated. But this open plateau afforded no places of refuge and the unfortunate natives could not escape the systematic conscription for the mines. The abolishment of the *mita* resulted in a gradual increase of native population.⁵ The *mita*, says von Tschudi, swept away four times as many Indians in Peru as all other causes combined, for it not only killed off the natives by excessive labor, but was responsible for suicides and voluntary deaths to escape oppression.⁶ The miserable inhabitants of the Antilles killed themselves wholesale by mutual agreement, partly by poison and partly by the halter, rather than submit to the Spaniards. So much was death preferred that parents with their own hands would kill their children and then hang themselves, thus wiping out entire families.⁷

The material change of the environment, aside from the matter of excessive labor, has proven disastrous to the Indian population in that there has resulted a much lower birth rate. This idea is clearly set forth by Professor Keller:

"The travelers report the natives, though not directly ill-treated, and even though favored, as dying of homesickness, or *nostalgia*, as it has been called. What this means, however, is not that they have been removed from their habitat, but that gradually their environment has been so altered that they are no longer adapted to it, or feel at home in it; a hunting-tribe is surrounded by cattle-ranges or farms, for example, and subjected to the civilized institution of private property in land. Now it is a well-recognized biological fact that alteration of environment is likely to find one of its first visible effects in derangements of the reproductive system:⁸ and whether or not this be true of man in the case of a change such as the one under consideration, there certainly is involved a thorough alteration of the conditions under which the struggle for existence is pursued, and this cannot fail ultimately, in event of the usual inability of the native to rise at once to a much more evolved stage of the arts, to have its effect upon numbers and strength of the population."⁹

⁴ von Humboldt, A., "Essai politique sur le royaume de Nouvelle-Espagne," I, 359.

⁵ Reclus, E., "The Earth and Its Inhabitants, South America," I, 369.

⁶ von Tschudi, J. J., "Travels in Peru," p. 341.

⁷ Las Casas, "Oeuvres," by Llorente, J. A., I, 25.

⁸ Cf. Darwin, "Descent," p. 185 ff.

⁹ Keller, A. G., "Colonization," p. 270.

Many other evidences of a declining birth rate as a result of contact may be noted. A missionary at Oaxaca told the Spanish historian, Zurita, that whole tribes of the Chontals and Mijes had agreed to renounce all intercourse with their wives, rather than furnish slaves for the Spaniards.¹⁰ Among the native tribes of lower California the old custom of polygamy has become obsolete, and as a consequence the high birth rate of early days no longer prevails.¹¹ The Kadiveo of Brazil and many of the Indians of the plains of North America limited their numbers by abortion and other practices after the introduction of the horse, because the people lived largely on horseback and the tribes did not want to be hindered by a large number of children in their migrations.¹²

The spread of the white race over North America and the appropriation of the lands upon which the Indian depended for sustenance tended to limit the food supply available to the aborigines. Consequently want and suffering with periodic famines appear as contributing factors to depopulation. The Spaniards emptied the granaries of the farsighted Incas and wantonly slaughtered the flocks of llamas belonging to the aborigines. The natives renounced cultivation at the risk of starvation, if only they might injure the Spaniards.¹³ The introduction of the tinned foods of civilization is given by North as contributing to the decline of the Indians of Lower California.¹⁴ In Acadia the aborigines observed the steadily increasing death rate among themselves and accused the French of poisoning them. They complained that the peas, beans, prunes, bread and other things sold to them were spoiled, and for that reason "corrupted the body" and gave them dysentery and other diseases with which they were always attacked in the autumn. But the Jesuits inform us that the real reason can be found in the fact that the natives were wont to gorge themselves with unsuitable foods during the summer when the French ships came in. Also that they could not be restrained from the excessive use of wine and brandy.¹⁵ It is scarcely necessary to dwell upon the important rôle which the introduction of distilled spirits played in furthering the decline of the aboriginal races in North America. Their native

¹⁰ Peschel, Oscar, "The Races of Man," pp. 151-2.

¹¹ North, A. W., "The Native Tribes of Lower California," in *American Anthropologist*, vol. X (N. S.), p. 241.

¹² Sumner, W. G., "Folkways," p. 315. von Martius, Carl F., "Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerikas," I, 231.

¹³ Watson, R. G., "Spanish and Portuguese South America during the Colonial Period," I, 173.

¹⁴ North, A. W., "Native Tribes of Lower California," in *American Anthropologist*, vol. X (N. S.), p. 241.

¹⁵ Baird's Relation, "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," III, 105, 107.

stimulants had been used for ceremonial purposes and were of weak alcoholic content; but when it came to the white man's stimulants, in the use of which there were no religious inhibitions and which were available to all alike in exchange for pelts and other produce, the Indian knew no restraint. In the Spanish regions, however, alcohol was an insignificant factor in that the Spaniards were peculiarly temperate even in the use of their own light wines and could not have introduced in any considerable quantity the consuming "fire-water" which demoralized the redskins of the north.¹⁶

The introduction of new methods of warfare by the use of firearms enabled the Indian tribes to make their tribal feuds far more destructive than ever before. Likewise the intrigues of the whites with rival tribes assisted in the rapid decline of the natives, for the Europeans pitted one against the other and then turned upon the victorious tribes. The bloody career of the Iroquois was largely a result of European contact and the struggle between the French and English. Thus between 1649 and 1672 the Iroquois accomplished the dispersion or the ruin of the Hurons, the Neutrals, the Andastes and the Eries. In this way the numerical strength of the victors was sapped and, after they espoused the cause of Great Britain in the Revolutionary War, they were finally crushed by the United States troops.¹⁷

The wars of extermination waged by the various European powers account for the rapid decimation of the natives in many parts of the Americas. Where two races of widely different cultures meet, the societal law of nature and not moral law prevails, and the tendency will be for the people of the "higher" culture to wipe out those of the "lower" who hold mores and customs incompatible with their own.¹⁸ Thus the white and half-caste settlers in Peru feel justified in treating the Cachibos as wild beasts and slaughter them without compunction because of the cannibalistic propensities of the savages.¹⁹ Likewise the Botocúdos of Brazil were known only as the most uncompromising foes of the settlers, because of their custom of eating human flesh and their constant raids upon the whites who were always encroaching upon Botocudo territory. When the first attempts at peaceful intercourse failed, the common opinion developed that the aborigines must be annihilated, and the laws even sanctioned war

¹⁶ Keller, A. G., "Colonization," p. 271.

¹⁷ Walker, F. A., "The Indian Question," pp. 70-2.

¹⁸ Gumpłowicz, L., "Der Rassenkampf," pp. 249-50.

¹⁹ Reclus, E., "The Earth and Its Inhabitants, South America," I, 311.

against them as worthless creatures.²⁰ In the region of São Paulo the inhabitants exhibited an unusual energy in the enslavement and extermination of the savages. When attacked by the exasperated natives, they commenced a vigorous warfare during which hundreds of Indian villages were destroyed and thousands of aborigines slain or captured.²¹ The Fuegians could not understand how a few shepherds could have need of as many thousand sheep all for themselves; for that reason they felt justified in preying upon the domestic animals belonging to the white settlers. Hence the natives were hunted down in their turn by riders armed with rifles, and who received a "capitation grant" or bounty of £1 sterling for every Indian head they produced.²²

Not alone in South America did civilized people make a business of destroying the natives, but likewise in North America the work of wanton destruction was carried on without mercy. In the eighteenth century and even on into the nineteenth Indians were hunted as wolves. The states of Virginia, Ohio, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, New Jersey and New York offered bounties at various times for Indian scalps. The Pennsylvania schedule was as follows: "For every male above ten years captured, \$150; for every male above ten years scalped, being killed, \$134; for every female or male under ten years captured, \$130; for every female above ten years scalped, being killed, \$50."²³ Territorial legislatures have placed upon their journals similar resolutions of much later date, organizing bands of men to be employed in "Indian hunting" with rewards for all scalps taken. The legislature of Idaho fixed the price at \$100 for the scalp of the "buck," \$50 for that of the squaw and \$25 for the scalps of Indian children under ten years of age, provided that each person shall make affirmation that the scalps were taken by the "Indian hunting" party.²⁴

Examples of indiscriminate slaughter of the aborigines are numerous, dating from colonial days down to quite recent times. The Puritans exterminated the powerful Pequots by organizing a religious war for the purpose. Plymouth and Connecticut were urged to join "in point of conscience." The soldiers were animated to a high degree of ferocity by the clergymen who assured them that if any should fall in so good a work

²⁰ von Martius, Carl F., "Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerikas," I, 315-6.

²¹ Southey, Robert, "History of Brazil," II, 305-8. Ribeyrolles, C., "Brazil Pittoresco," I, 27.

²² Reclus, E., "The Earth and Its Inhabitants, South America," I, 445.

²³ Parker, A. C., "Social Elements of the Indian Problem," in *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. XXII (1916-7), p. 262.

²⁴ Manypenny, G. W., "Our Indian Wards," p. 192.

it was "because earth's honors were too scant for them, and, therefore, the everlasting crown must be set upon their heads forthwith." The Pequots were wiped out entirely, except for 180 women and children captives who were distributed as slaves among the English towns and their allies, the Narragansetts; male children were sold to Bermuda.²⁵ Many of the Indian wars in the western states were simply massacres, often instigated on the slightest pretexts. Thus Major Wynkoop, referring to the massacre of the Indians at Sand Creek, in Colorado, testified that the "governor said the third regiment of Colorado troops had been raised on his representation at Washington to kill Indians, and Indians they must kill." It is needless to say that the soldiers lived up to the governor's most sanguine hopes for "fleeing women, holding up their hands and praying for mercy, were brutally shot down; infants were killed and scalped in derision; men were tortured and mutilated in a way that would put to shame the savage ingenuity of interior Africa."²⁶ Peschel cites a case where the Portuguese in Brazil deliberately deposited the clothes of scarlet fever or smallpox patients on the hunting grounds of the natives in order to spread the pestilence among them; and another where the whites used strychnine to poison the wells which the Indians were in the habit of visiting in the deserts of Utah.²⁷ Such being the general attitude of the whites it is small wonder that entire tribes of aborigines have been extinguished.

Undoubtedly the most important factor in the depopulation of native tribes was the spread of new diseases introduced by the white man. Against such diseases the aborigines had developed no tendency toward natural immunity for such only comes about in the course of an indefinite period of time. Furthermore, they possessed no means of artificial immunity such as vaccination, nor did they understand the value of isolation for those affected. Thus it is evident that the natives could offer little or no resistance to the white man's diseases once they began to spread.

A few illustrations will serve to show the havoc which these imported diseases produced. The natives of Lower California were a healthy people at the coming of the padres, but did not long remain so with the establishment of the Spanish presidios, for measles, smallpox, and other diseases spread with frightful virulence among them.²⁸ Smallpox and even minor eruptive diseases such as measles have proven most fatal to the natives in

²⁵ Oliver, Peter, "The Puritan Commonwealth," pp. 113-4.

²⁶ Manypenny, G. W., "Our Indian Wards," pp. 180-1; see also pp. 158-9, 163.

²⁷ Peschel, Oscar, "The Races of Man," p. 151.

²⁸ North, A. W., "The Native Tribes of Lower California," in *American Anthropologist*, vol. X (N. S.), pp. 239, 241.

every case. Smallpox appeared in Mexico at the outset of the conquest and swept off in some provinces half the population, seeming to be particularly fatal to women.²⁹ It is well known how rapidly the Indians of North America were swept off by smallpox; the Jesuit Relations are full of accounts detailing the havoc of its march. White traders carried smallpox among the Pawnees, over one-half the tribe falling victims. The survivors, when the disease subsided, took the lives of a number of traders according to their laws of retribution. It appears that a few years previous to the outbreak one of the traders visited a threat upon these people that, if they did not comply with some condition, "he would let the smallpox out of a bottle and destroy the whole of them," and this the Indians accepted as the cause. They refused to permit vaccination, because they could not see how so minute a puncture in the arm would protect them from so fatal a disease; inoculation was regarded as some new trick of the pale-faces by which they expected to gain some advantage over the Indians.³⁰ In 1837 smallpox carried off over 1500 of the Mandans, only 130 survivors being recorded. The disease was communicated to the Awickees, Minitares, Blackfeet, Crees and others; whole lodges were swept away and upwards of 1000 Blackfeet and 500 Minitares perished.³¹

In South America the greatest sufferers from the white man's diseases have been the *mansos*, tame or semi-civilized Indians. Thus in Peru the mission settlements of San Francisco de Borja disappeared; smallpox broke out in 1660, spread to the surrounding missions and claimed over 44,000 victims. Nine years later it reappeared and caused the death of 20,000 natives. Those aborigines dwelling on the Amazonian slopes, protected from direct contact with the whites by their hot and moist climate, forests and dangerous rivers, have suffered greatly from epidemics introduced by the whites and communicated to them by the frontier tribes. The wild tribes of Colombia, notably the Salivas and Quivas, although not in direct contact with the whites, are reported to be perishing from smallpox, scarlet fever and other diseases introduced by Europeans.³²

Syphilis is one of the most important diseases sapping the strength of the native population of Mexico; it was introduced by the Spaniards, although some of the chroniclers of the colonial régime confuse it with local forms of leprosy.³³ In Brazil consumption is proving most destructive among those natives who have been brought under the leadership of well-

²⁹ Bourne, E. G., "Spain in America, 1450-1580," pp. 212-3.

³⁰ Catlin, George, "North American Indians," II, 25, 258.

³¹ Schoolcraft, H. R., "Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes," p. 577.

³² Reclus, E., "The Earth and Its Inhabitants, South America," I, 178, 310.

³³ Thompson, Wallace, "The People of Mexico," pp. 105-6.

meaning whites.³⁴ Since the arrival of English missionaries among the Yahgan group of the Fuegians the ranks of the natives have been rapidly depleted by consumption, typhoid and smallpox. Those patients, however, who escape the stations and resume the savage life, exposed to cold, wind and storms, show a tendency to recover. The Mojós, living in Brazil and Bolivia, have been reduced considerably by epidemic diseases following in the wake of the Catholic missionaries.³⁵

The fact that the Indians were suspicious of the white man's methods of cure and placed the utmost faith in their own medicine men and their traditional remedies might be mentioned as contributing to the seriousness of epidemic diseases among them. They usually employed the steam bath and cold plunge for all diseases indiscriminately, thus making recovery well-nigh impossible in the case of eruptive diseases and aggravating afflictions of the respiratory system.³⁶

One important fact which must not be omitted in considering the numerical decline of the aboriginal races in the Americas is miscegenation. Out of a population of 36,782 Cherokee citizens, 7000 were reported to be adopted whites, negroes and Indians from other tribes; scarcely one-fourth of the Cherokees themselves are of pure blood. The Wyandot (Hurons) and Kaskaskia have not now a single full blood. Among the Iroquois there has been considerable mixture, and those of St. Regis and Caughnawaga hardly boast of an Indian who does not have some white blood in his veins.³⁷ In the Orinoco region of South America the full-blooded Indians are rapidly diminishing, but the half-breeds have multiplied three-fold. The Araucanians, although resisting the Spaniards successfully for many generations, have not preserved their racial purity. In the frontier days they carried off Spanish women whose offspring approached the white type, while to-day the reverse is going on—the Chilians intermarry with the Araucanians modifying the race from year to year.³⁸ In British Honduras Indian women intermarry freely with Europeans, East Indians, Chinese and negroes, thus producing a most varied mixture.³⁹ In Mexico over one-third of the population are of Indian and Spanish mixture; in Panama the vast majority are mixed breeds.

Of the Indian population in the United States some 35.2% are re-

³⁴ Ratzel, Friedrich, "Völkerkunde," I, 459.

³⁵ Reclus, E., "The Earth and Its Inhabitants, South America," I, 373, 447.

³⁶ Bourne, E. G., "Spain in America, 1450-1580," p. 212.

³⁷ Handbook of the American Indians, B.A.E., Bull. 30, pt. I, 914. *Supra*, p. 78 ff.

³⁸ Reclus, E., "The Earth and Its Inhabitants, South America," I, 107, 444.

³⁹ Gann, T. W. F., "The Maya Indians of South Yucatan and British Honduras," B.A.E., Bull. 64 (1918), pp. 33-4.

ported as mixed bloods, 58.4% as full bloods, and the remainder unknown. It is probable, however, that the mixed bloods are more numerous than they will acknowledge, for unlike other primitive peoples, the Indian is very proud of his race. Mixed marriages are more often fertile and result in a larger number of children per family, and a larger proportion of these children survive.⁴⁰ In 1910 there were 403,000 so-called Indians of all degrees of admixture in the United States. In 1924 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported but 320,497 legal Indians of all degrees of admixture, only 162,602 of that number representing full bloods. About one-sixth of the Indians are said to be indiscernible as such and must claim to be Indians to be distinguished from the whites.⁴¹ It is thus apparent that the full bloods are destined to form a decreasing proportion of the total Indian population and ultimately to disappear altogether.

Let us now place before the eye a few examples illustrating the extent and rapidity with which depopulation of the aborigines has taken place. The population of Española was supposed to have been reduced by at least two-thirds during the first three years of the conquest. Peschel places the population in 1492 at less than 300,000 but over 200,000. In 1508 the native population had fallen to 60,000; in 1510, 46,000; in 1512, 20,000; and in 1514, 14,000. In 1548 it was doubtful if 500 natives of pure stock remained, and in 1570 only two Indian villages were left. All the islands experienced a similar fate. On the mainland depopulation was not so swift or so sweeping. Some idea of the decline in Peru can be gathered from an examination of the reports of the viceroys and of Velasco's compendium:⁴²

1574	680,000 tributaries (approximately 2,910,400 persons) *
1590	311,257 " (" 1,332,180 ")
1761	143,363 " (" 612,780 ")
1796 .....	..... " 608,894 "

Father Melendez mentions that shortly after the conquest the parish of Ancallama in the Province of Chancay contained 30,000 Indians fit for military service, that is, between 18 and 50 years of age; in 1849 it

* McKenzie, F. A., "The Assimilation of the American Indian," in *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. XIX (1914), pp. 765-6.

"The Tragedy of the Indian," in the *Scientific American*, Jan., 1926, p. 7.

Quoted in Keller, A. G., "Colonization," p. 267.

In the alternative estimates for 1761 a rough multiple (nearly $4\frac{1}{4}$) is furnished by the employment of which the tributaries can be converted into persons.

contained but 140 persons of whom one-third were mestizos.⁴⁴ The Guaraunos of Venezuela appear to be dying out, and many tribes such as the Caberres, met with in the first half of the eighteenth century, are no longer mentioned by travelers.⁴⁵ Of the native tribes of Lower California, the Pericues and Guaiacuras are now practically extinct. Of the former thousands of Cochimis perhaps a hundred still survive about the missions of San Xavier, Santa Gertrudis and San Borja. In the north a few broken remnants of the Cocopa, Catarina, Yuma, Kiliwa, Pais and Diegueño are still to be found, but only the first named number more than a hundred individuals.⁴⁶ Oraibi, one of the Hopi villages in north-eastern Arizona, is said to have had in former days 14,000 inhabitants.⁴⁷

The decline of the native populations seems to be continuous in spite of the fact that to-day the Indians are living for the most part under stable governments, and the old conditions of forced labor, oppression and incessant warfare have ceased. The general trend is evident in the following figures for the Indian population of the United States:

1872	300,000
1890	248,253
1900	237,196
1910	265,683
1920	244,437 ⁴⁸

A retrospective view of the decline of aboriginal races in the New World shows conclusively that depopulation cannot be assigned to any one cause in particular, but is a result of numerous forces, most of which were set in motion by the coming of the whites, acting and reacting upon each other. Thus forced labor by means of the *repartimiento* and *encomienda* accounts directly for an enormous loss in life. The hostility of the whites, campaigns of extermination, playing one tribe against another, the indiscriminate sale of alcohol and of firearms which made native wars far more deadly than ever before, all contributed to the decimation of the Indians. The loss of food supply, the introduction of new and strange diseases and changed conditions of life leading to a lower birth rate, as well as intermarriage and the gradual assimilation of the

⁴⁴ von Tschudi, J. J., "Travels in Peru," p. 340.

⁴⁵ Reclus, E., "The Earth and Its Inhabitants, South America," I, 107.

⁴⁶ North, A. W., "Native Tribes of Lower California," in *American Anthropologist*, vol. X (N. S.), p. 241.

⁴⁷ Judd, N. M., "Everyday Life in Pueblo Bonito," in *National Geographic Magazine*, Sept., 1925, p. 259.

⁴⁸ Figures for 1872 given in Walker, F. A., "The Indian Question," p. 148. All other figures given in Abstract of Fourteenth Census of the U. S., (1920), p. 94.

native stock as we see it going on to-day, are other important factors in the depopulation of native societies. The Indians of South America far outnumber those of North America; it seems that the natives of Latin America, including the Mexicans, have displayed more vitality, more power of resisting the destructive forces of contact than have the redskins, properly so-called. While the latter have either disappeared, been swept into reservations or assimilated, the former still constitute the substratum of the population in the land of their forefathers.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Reclus, E., "The Earth and Its Inhabitants, South America," I, 36-7.

CHAPTER XI

SUMMARY ON NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA

In *résumé*, let us now briefly sketch the important consequences, both social and economic, resulting from the contact of European races with the aborigines of the Americas. The Spaniards initiated the first permanent European contact with the aborigines of America. Their encounter was still in its initial stages when the Portuguese entered the New World and within the next hundred years or so were followed by the Dutch, French, English, and even the Swedes, lured by the promises of great wealth, fertile lands and prosperous colonies. Thus a veritable panorama of racial contacts, taking place in temperate and tropical regions, reflecting all variations of temperament in the colonizing races and presenting many degrees of culture in the native peoples, is unrolled before our eyes. Little wonder, then, that America affords an excellent laboratory for the study of race contact in its primordial aspects. In all cases the dominant motives were economic, although modified by religious considerations to a noticeable extent among the French and to a lesser degree with the Spaniards.

Fundamental ideas of trade and exchange, especially as between groups, were fairly well established among most of the Indian tribes at the time of earliest contact with Europeans. Many of the groups had specialized in certain forms of production and carried on a considerable intertribal exchange by direct barter or, as sometimes happened, by silent trade. The Europeans did not alter the form of exchange, but fell in line with the prevailing native methods. Indeed native currency in the shape of wampum and pelts was even adopted as legal tender and assigned fixed values by the various American colonies, thus developing a money economy in the modern sense of the word. In the Spanish and Portuguese regions the aborigines were unable to supply trade goods desired by the whites; the latter needed a labor force for the mines and plantations and appropriated to themselves the productive energies of the Indians through the *mita* and the *encomienda*; as a result no extensive native trade was developed and what formerly existed was destroyed.

The notion of providing tribal revenue by means of fees for the right of passage through territory controlled by the tribe was practically un-

known until the advent of the whites. This is probably owing to the fact that among the Indians there existed no strong native political organizations such as are found in Africa. With respect to economic values it is apparent that the Indian is not devoid of the capacity to evaluate the white man's goods, but, living in a different environment where great scarcity of European goods, such as trinkets, clothing, weapons and the like, exists in comparison to his own products, he assigns values which seem preposterous to us.

Sympathizers are prone to idealize the Indian and place the blame for all his defects of character upon the white man. This view, as we have seen, has no foundation in fact. The Indian's obligations terminated with the members of his own group; to outsiders he owed nothing, for they were not protected by the only code which he recognized. The Indian was friendly to the first whites with whom he came in contact because he believed them to be gods, supernatural and invulnerable, but this delusion did not last long. Furthermore, the European brought to the Indian the highly prized products of another culture, superior weapons, tools, intoxicants and other commodities. Also, having no conception of private property in land, the Indian offered little resistance until he found that appropriation of the land by the whites diminished his means of subsistence. But at all times the Indian's regard for the interests of the white man was actuated by fear or expectation of economic benefit. Rights were limited to members of the "in-group," and if any rights were granted to members of the "out-group" it was only because expediency demanded it. We must also bear in mind that actions approved by the code of the primitive Indian are frequently crimes judged from our code. Thus the native considers it a matter of justice and of right that a person appropriate necessities such as food from those who have plenty; the white man regards it as theft. There is no evidence to draw a conclusion that the Indian is by nature dishonest and untrustworthy, for his treatment of members of his own group belies that; nor, on the other hand, can we support the generalization frequently made that contact with the white race taught the Indian to lie, cheat and steal. It is only a question of membership in the "we-group" or the "others-group."

The contact with races of higher culture in course of time transformed the conditions of life for the native peoples. Association placed before the native new processes and methods, the superiority of which was unquestioned even in the mind of the untutored savage. These adjustments, however, were practically all in the economic field of self-maintenance where the test was immediate and clear cut. The native

was suddenly elevated from the stone age to the iron age, readily adopting the tools and weapons of an advanced civilization. His resources were considerably enhanced by the acquisition of the horse, the use of which in many cases transformed his entire social and economic life. The establishment of the missions and the superior economic system introduced by the priests organized the struggle for existence on a plane much higher than that to which the Indian had been accustomed.

The net result of contact with the European races during the last four hundred years has not been favorable to the native. The gains have been offset by an undue proportion of losses. The conservative nature of the Indian precluded the ready adoption of modes and customs appertaining to the higher culture unless the need and value were readily apparent. His ancient customs, supported by tradition and strengthened by the ancestors, often proved to be serious maladjustments under the new life conditions produced by contact. It does seem that, as long as the primitive group subsists and feels itself to be a living force and does not abandon the fight, it resists almost instinctively the new elements which civilization brings. It is in self-defense that the aborigines oppose innovations. If left to themselves and natural development is allowed to take place, it is not certain that they are more hostile than any other people to innovations. Their institutions, like ours, change slowly and they readily accept changes when proposed by authorities whom they respect and in a form which gives them no uneasiness. Otherwise an obstinate, insurmountable defiance is awakened and persists.¹

Association with the lower elements of the white race, exploitation of the native, the forcible appropriation of his services and wealth, and the material alteration of his environment by the presence of white settlements and the consequent driving off of game, all tended to intensify his struggle for existence. The introduction of European goods was frequently followed by untold harm; thus firearms, at first a great boon, resulted in the wanton destruction of game and intensified native warfare; distilled spirits, unsuitable foods, and many other new products proved of negative value to the Indian. The decay of native arts is directly attributable to contact with the advanced races. It was much easier, and from an economic standpoint cheaper, for the Indian to exchange a few pelts and skins for European products of superior quality than to consume his time and energy in the production of an inferior grade. But this meant specialization in the hunt, the destruction of his means of subsistence and the loss of whatever technical aptitudes he once possessed,

¹ Lévy-Bruhl, L., "La mentalité primitive," p. 447.

leaving him with much free time on his hands which was seldom put to productive use.

One of the most serious losses to the indigenes of America was the appropriation of their lands by the whites. The European powers gave no thought to the prescriptive rights of the natives who inhabited newly discovered territory. Such lands were recognized as belonging to that power whose nationals first discovered them. In practice, however, it was necessary to recognize a possessory right in the natives who resisted the encroachments of the Europeans, as is evident in the survival of village lands in Mexico and the purchase of Indian lands by the colonies and later by the United States.

The frequent removals of the Indian tribes of the United States reacted most unfavorably in their development. The aborigines, belonging to the hunting or to the primitive agricultural stage, found it impossible to assimilate the arts of life and the technique of a civilized society which demanded a more intensive utilization of the soil, and as the whites moved in the Indians were driven back to the most unproductive areas. Further, the policy of the government in transferring the Indian from reservation to reservation, even after he was in a fair way toward acquiring the mores and habits of thrift and industry, taught the natives the futility of making permanent improvements on the land, and the existence of the ration system thwarted the development of economic independence. Why work when a beneficent government stood ready at hand to provide one with necessities and even luxuries?

The first fruits of the application of European control in the Spanish and Portuguese dominions were slavery or serfdom, and forced labor as worked out in the *repartimiento* and the *encomienda*. The stage of the arts and governmental organization found among the Indians was such that it would not admit of slavery, and a tribute relation was only possible in the case of the more highly developed organizations, the Inca, for example. The Indians were unschooled to submissiveness; the native social and political organization was so weakly developed that the people lived practically in a state of equality. The Spanish and Portuguese systems were, therefore, unendurable to the freedom-loving natives, who killed themselves in great numbers rather than serve their masters. Spanish legislation was most favorable to the native, endeavoring to treat him as a free man, to convert him to the faith and to protect him from the aggressions of the whites; conditions of employment were detailed to the utmost and, all in all, the position of the native would seem to have been an enviable one. But the making of explicit and humane laws by a weak

and inefficient central authority operating at a great distance was quite a different thing from enforcement in a colonial environment where master interest was set squarely against regulation.

In the English and French spheres of North America there was little need for impressing the labor services of the Indian. The former were agriculturalists in a temperate region where economic conditions did not admit of the plantation system as developed by the Latins of South and Central America; the French were interested in the fur trade where a system of exchange with free natives was inevitable, for there were no means of holding the hunters, with their innumerable means of escape, in bondage.

We have found but few attempts to superimpose European political organizations upon those of the natives. This is owing to the fact that the Indian political organization was relatively undeveloped and a control built upon and exercised through such an agency could never be effective. The administration of justice in the white man's courts has always been a one-sided affair; crimes are only those acts committed against the whites; the aggression of Europeans upon natives falls into a lesser category, and in the United States the courts were not concerned with crimes and transgressions involving natives alone until well into the nineteenth century.

The Indian policy of the United States has been one of benevolent paternalism² and neglect. We have placed before the Indian certain cultural advantages in matters of education, agriculture and the like, but with an attitude of indifference expressing the idea, "Take them or leave them." The aborigines, while drawing their annuities or living on the bounty system of the government, lacked the foresight to perceive that the time was approaching when they would be thrown upon their own resources and left to shift for themselves; that rapid and speedy adjustments were necessary for survival. Furthermore, the long uncertainty respecting the civil status of the Indian has had a most deplorable effect in crushing individual initiative and enterprise.

The old social system of the aborigines has almost completely disappeared under the assaults of a higher culture. The codes of the civilized and the uncivilized furnish in themselves the germs of mutual antagonism; the feeling of ethnocentrism is strong in both groups, but in combination with greater power and force the "higher" race alone has been able to make its intolerance of alien mores effective. This prejudice may take the

² See Appendix, pp. 360-1, for Indian policy as given in the report made to the Secretary of War under the direction of President Monroe in 1821.

form of an interdiction against native customs such as polygamy or native dances, but all such traditional warps are so completely interwoven in the social and political fabric of the society that the abolition of anyone weakens the entire structure. Contact, however, tended to raise the status of the native woman in course of time and to influence the sex division of labor; these results were brought about largely through miscegenation and the consequent infiltration of the mores of the "higher" group. Intermarriage has been one of the most important factors in the disintegration of the native social system in that the half-breed looks with contempt upon the mores of the group to which his darker parent belongs. Education likewise spreads the customs and mores of the civilized society and native children are taught to despise the ways of their ancestors.

The missionaries presented to the American aborigines an entirely new code of life. They sought to work upon the secondary or religious mores of the natives, but it was soon discovered by the Spanish and French ecclesiastics that results could not be expected in this field until the entire economic order of the Indians was remodeled. The exigencies of self-maintenance demanded a roving life; this was an obstacle to conversion; hence the conclusion that the spiritual life must be founded upon an economic basis. Owing to the presence of the hostile Iroquois and the English, the French were unable to carry out their aims, but the Spaniards under government protection, dealing with Indians who had not been "sullied" by European contact and with others who gladly sought protection from white exploitation, were unusually successful. The "reductions" of South America were true states, but under the hierarchy of the priests self-government by the natives was only titular. The economic and social organizations were most minutely regulated and the natives were under the strictest discipline, but so cleverly did the Jesuits mix the work and play elements that the natives felt no burden. The entire scheme was a skilful adaptation of the native communal system. No encouragement was given the natives to develop individual incentive and enterprise; foresight was unknown, for the Jesuits themselves saw to every need and jealously guarded their protégés from contact with the outside world. The result was a highly artificial culture which toppled as soon as the supporting hand of the clergy was removed.

The mental capacity of the aborigines was such that ecclesiastical dogmas made no impression upon them. The only appeal was through forms and ritual, which were readily assimilated into the pagan customs, as in Mexico and Peru, resulting in a sort of hybrid Christianity. In

general, the missionaries are responsible for softening the manners of the aborigines and toning down the asperities of barbarism.

Undoubtedly the greatest proportion of the Indian's education is undesigned and derived from association with the advanced races. Direct education of the aborigines outside of the United States and modern Canada, as has been noted, was left largely in the hands of the ecclesiastical orders. The position of the Indian—on the transitional stage from barbarism to civilization—is such that instruction which will enable him to make more perfect adjustments to his new social and economic environment is most imperative. The friars of the Spanish missions realized this and at the outset offered the natives a purely industrial training, while the English, and to a certain extent the French educators, placed too much stress upon the cultural and religious side. The attack was upon the secondary societal mores of the native, and the attempt was made to replace them with the customs and ideals of western civilization. The Indian saw no benefits immediately forthcoming, consequently the success of earlier native education was negated. It was not until comparatively recent times that the true value and need of vocational and industrial training were realized, and soon thereafter the scheme was applied to Indian education with marked success, to which a number of modern institutions bear witness.

Proceeding almost parallel with the disruption of the native social and political organizations and the losing struggle of the Indian in the competitive conflict with the culture races for subsistence, we have observed a persistent decline in the native population. It is impossible to trace this phenomenon to any specific cause; rather it is a result of a combination of factors evolving from the contact of races widely separated in civilization. The enslavement of a race unaccustomed to servitude, the harsh treatment of the Indians and forced labor through the *repartimiento* and the *encomienda* distinguish the early period of Spanish contact. Campaigns of extermination, intrigues, playing tribe against tribe, the importation of the white man's diseases, a declining birth rate, the loss of means of subsistence, and, finally, intermarriage and the fusion of large numbers of the native population with the white, all contribute in varying degrees to the decimation of the Indian population.

At this point it would be well to add a few general remarks with regard to contact and the survival of the indigenous races. The fact that the Indian race has survived in Mexico and South America would indicate that the natives did not suffer such keen competition in the race struggle as was experienced by those dwelling in the United States and Canada

with the ever increasing waves of white immigration. Furthermore, the Spaniards were more tolerant of the natives as is evident by the wholesale miscegenation which has taken place in Spanish territory. The thorough-going campaigns of extermination which characterized contact north of Mexico are almost entirely lacking;³ alcohol was never a serious problem and the Indians were left on the land where found, but made subservient to the conquerors. Thus their means of existence were preserved.⁴ Mexico to-day represents the one country where the white race has ceased its predominance. The mestizos have driven out practically all of the white foreigners and the overwhelming majority of their own white peoples, until Mexico now numbers fewer white men than at any time since early colonial days. The Indian and mestizo elements have made of Mexico anything but a white man's country, and with each new revolution the age-old battle of the dark races against the white has resulted more and more in favor of the former.⁵

The net results of contact have been far more favorable to the warlike tribes of Indians than to their more submissive brethren. The militant groups have universally commanded a greater respect and, being in a position to insist upon what they regarded as their rights, have invariably been treated more fairly by the whites than the others. Thus one is struck, in perusing the list of big land grants and money provisions made by the United States for so many of the tribes, with the fact that the largest favors have gone to those Indians who in the past have been the most hostile to the government, and the smallest generally to those who were complaisant, good-natured and trusted the government to do what was right. Indeed, it appears that the United States have been more strongly moved by fears than by gratitude.⁶ And the same scene was presented in South America where some of the more warlike tribes of Chili and Peru were involved.

Moreover, the more highly developed agricultural tribes, such as those of Mexico, Central America, Peru, Ecuador and Chili, have shown the greatest power of survival in contact with the Europeans. The agriculturalists, as distinguished from those tribes in the hunting stage who supplemented their means of subsistence by rudimentary tillage, lived a settled life and did not require an extensive area of land as did the hunters; they represented a relatively higher culture and the chasm between their mores and those of the whites was more readily bridged. The transition

³ With a few exceptions such as the raids of the Paulistas in Brazil.

⁴ Cf. Eder, P. J., "Colombia," p. 23.

⁵ Thompson, Wallace, "The People of Mexico," p. 47.

⁶ Leupp, F. E., "The Indian and His Problem," pp. 174-5.

from the hunting stage to careful husbandry must be slowly effected during long generations, otherwise the extinction of the race is inevitable:⁷ the victors cannot and will not wait for the backward peoples to catch up to their stage of economic and societal development.

Strength, if it take the form of a dogged resistance in the ancient ways, is the undoing of a primitive people. Many of the Indian tribes have perished because they could not or would not adjust themselves to the conditions which the advent of the white man imposed.⁸ It is the capacity of the primitive society to adapt itself to new life conditions which determines its future increase or extinction.

⁷ Peschel, Oscar, "The Races of Man," p. 154.

⁸ Bryce, Jas., "The Relations of the Advanced and the Backward Races of Mankind," p. 13.

PART II
AUSTRALASIA AND POLYNESIA

CHAPTER XII

COMMERCIAL CONTACT: CIVILIZATION AND ITS EFFECTS UPON NATIVE CHARACTER

The region of the southern Pacific, embracing Australasia and the Polynesian and Melanesian Islands, furnishes some of the choicest material for an intimate study of the effects produced by contact between races representative of higher and lower culture stages.

There are several factors which contribute to make this region one of the most suitable for observation; the discoveries in the Pacific came at the close of the period of feverish and uncontrolled search for spices and the precious metals; the surplus energies of the western powers were now being employed in developing their early conquests and in internal development and growth; the first accurate knowledge of the southern hemisphere was not obtained until the close of the eighteenth and during the nineteenth century with the discoveries of Cook and his successors. Many of these early expeditions were primarily of a scientific nature and did not lead directly to commercial contact or colonization, but they did give information as to the primitive state of the aborigines, which data prove of great importance in tracing the effects of later contact. The period of time during which the discoveries, development of commerce, appropriation and settlement by the whites of Australasia, Polynesia and Melanesia took place is relatively short, and thus can be said to be within the memory of man; consequently our observations on the effects of race contact are readily verifiable.

There were a few early attempts at conquest and colonization which came to naught: Mendana in the Solomon Islands in 1568 and Santa Cruz, 1595; Quiros in the New Hebrides in 1606; and Tasman, who made a brief stay in Tasmania, 1643.¹ In 1779 Sir Joseph Banks recommended Botany Bay as a site for a convict colony, assigning as his reasons that the natives were "few and cowardly," the soil was sufficiently good to supply necessities, and escape was extremely difficult. Soon after, the colony was established, it being the first permanent one in Australasia.²

¹ Wood, G. Arnold, "The Discovery of Australia," pp. 134-8, 148. Im Thurn, E. F., in Preface to "Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia" (ed. Rivers, W. H. R.), pp. viii, ix.

² Wood, G. Arnold, "The Discovery of Australia," p. 422.

The earliest trade in the Southern Pacific resulted more by accident and chance than by design. The Pacific Islands as well as Australasia are so located that they are off the principal trade routes. There was nothing in the economic environment to allure traders to those regions. There existed no traditions as to vast stores of the precious metals, there were no valuable furs, spices or other important agricultural products which would encourage trade. In fact "of all the Oceanian negroes, the Tasmanians, and after them the Australians, are the most destitute and least liberally supplied by Providence. The Papuans of New Guinea and the adjacent islands have larger resources given to them; so have the people of the New Hebrides. As regards the other tribes of the Papuan races, they inhabit more fortunate islands: the Solomon Islands, New Ireland, the Fiji Islands, where properly speaking the Polynesian flora abound, poor in kind but rich in alimentary vegetables." In Polynesia the people were richly endowed with vegetable foods, but had no domesticated animals other than the dog and pig. In addition there was an utter lack of metals, the islands being of a calcareous formation.³

Permanent trade depends upon natural resources, and upon the aptitude of a people in the conversion of raw materials into a form available for human use. Furthermore, it requires an uneven distribution of resources which produces, as a natural consequence, commercial contact of races. The conditions in this part of the world were not favorable for rapidly growing contact between the aborigines and the civilized groups as the former had little to offer. In course of time, however, with the discovery of sandalwood in some of the islands, and later, the development of plantations in Australia and in the Fiji Islands, the natives had available two valuable commodities, sandalwood and labor. Hence it is from this time, the middle of the nineteenth century, that we can expect to see the results of contact most clearly.

In many places the aborigines had no concept of trade or exchange in our sense of the word. "One fancies the genesis of exchange to have been very easy because civilized man is accustomed to find all that he needs ready made at the market or store and to be able to obtain it for money. With primitive man, however, before he became acquainted with the more highly developed peoples, value and price were by no means current conceptions. The first discoverers of Australia found invariably, both on the continent and on the neighboring islands, that the aborigines had no conception of exchange."⁴ This would naturally be the case where

³ Letourneau, Ch., "Sociology," pp. 19, 20-2.

⁴ Bücher, Carl, "Industrial Evolution," p. 60.

there existed a keen struggle for existence in a severe and barren environment which could support but small numbers, and where there was but little contact of diverse groups. For example, throughout the greater portion of New Holland, before settlement had taken place to any extent, the surrounding country furnished a food supply sufficient for the native who had adapted himself to the environment, whereas a white man would starve.⁵ Under such conditions but little was afforded which might become the basis for commercial contact, either between the little hordes or with outside groups.

With many primitive tribes, at the time of their first intercourse with the white races, the mutual interchange of gifts was the only known form of exchange. Others, however, did not seem to have advanced that far. Cook, referring to the Australians at Endeavor Bay, states that "They had no idea of traffic, nor could we communicate any to them; they received the things that we gave them, but never appeared to understand our signs when we required a return . . . many of the things we had given them we found left negligently about in the woods like the playthings of children which please only when they are new."⁶

At Astralobe Bay, New Guinea, Romilly found the natives without any knowledge of trade. No matter what was given to them they never offered anything in return.⁷ Likewise many of the natives of Tanna seemed to have no notion of exchanging one thing for another; indeed, they seemed to be afraid to touch what belonged to Cook's people.⁸ Among others the customs at the time of discovery indicated a transition from presents to exchange. The Dieri in Central Australia, when in need of a certain article, makes a present to the possessor or to one who can furnish it to him, and thus seeks to secure the desired object as a reciprocal gift.⁹ At Samoa¹⁰ and among the Kingsmill and Marshall Islanders gift-giving implied the expectation of a return present.¹¹

The earliest trade between peoples of a higher culture stage and primitive races bears a very close relationship to vanity on the part of primitive man, and to his fondness for objects which will bring out his individuality and set him apart from the others. This one incentive, more than any other, is conducive to early trade. Lippert states that as primitive

⁵ Eyre, E. J., "Central Australia," II, 250-1.

⁶ Cook, Jas., "First Voyage" (Hawkesworth's), III, 634.

⁷ Romilly, H. H., "The Western Pacific and New Guinea," pp. 225-6.

⁸ Cook, Jas., "Second Voyage," II, 56.

⁹ Howitt, A. W., in J. A. I., vol. XX (1890), pp. 78-9.

¹⁰ Wilkes, Chas., "Narrative of U. S. Exploring Expedition, 1838-42," II, 126-7.

¹¹ Kohler, "Recht d. Marshall Insulander," Zeits. für vergl. Rechtsw., XIV, 440. (Quoted in Grierson, P. J., "The Silent Trade," p. 19.)

man has but few primary needs, all of which he himself can supply, the beginning of the earliest trade between groups of different culture stages must rest on some other foundation, that is, it must appeal to the vanity of primitive man. This truth is well illustrated in the commercial contact between civilized and uncivilized races of antiquity, and proves to be no different to-day.¹² The Maoris of New Zealand show this to be the fact. "They were fond of anything that sparkled or was high-colored. The brighter a piece of cloth or calico was the better they liked it, and beads were especially attractive to them. . . . In fact they were like children in these matters, and the various trifles which were brought under their notice by traders and others took their fancy amazingly."¹³ On Mallicolo Island in the New Hebrides Cook observed that the natives set no value on nails or iron tools, apparently seeing no use for them, but they were well pleased with pieces of cloth which he gave them.¹⁴ With regard to the Koita of British New Guinea Seligmann portrays the close connection between vanity and trade when he says, "With the advent of the store, one article has attained immense importance. This is a camphor wood box, with the lock so arranged as to ring a bell when the key is turned. It is the ambition of every man to possess one of these; its key is often worn round the neck as a pendant, and it is certain that old keys may be worn for 'swagger' by youths who have never owned a box, and by men who have traded or gambled away the box they once possessed."¹⁵ The natives of Tolaga Bay in New Zealand were quite willing to part with their provisions for beads, nails and other trifles.¹⁶

The most striking thing of all trade with primitive races when first developed is that the natives seem not to have any idea of the relative exchange values of the products they offer and the goods desired in return. It is true that the aborigines do not place the same valuations upon objects as we do, but that is merely in accord with the economic law of supply and demand. Articles of trifling value to a civilized man may be of immense importance to savage man, either as a means of distinguishing himself from the mass, or as a means of making more efficient weapons or tools as in the case of metals. It is scarcity which gives such values. Like-wise immediate desire and impatience frequently lead a native to give any price for an object upon which his heart has been set, regardless of future consequences. Beechey found that the mere suggestion of iron

¹² Lippert, Julius, "Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit," I, 603.

¹³ Grey, J. Grattan, "Australasia, Old and New," pp. 245-7.

¹⁴ Cook, Jas., "Second Voyage," II, 31.

¹⁵ Seligmann, C. G., "Melanesians of British New Guinea," p. 88.

¹⁶ Furneaux, in Jas. Cook's "Second Voyage," II, 252.

was enough to call forth all the possessions of the Polynesians on Egmont Island,—mats, bands, nets, oyster shells and the like, with which they would attempt to make a trade for a piece of the precious metal.¹⁷ The Fiji Islander has no concept of relative values. When he takes goods to market, he has a definite object in mind which he wishes to secure. If he has no such objective, he will let the surplus produce of his garden or his net decay rather than exert himself to dispose of it.¹⁸ The consideration "which in contracts between white men is all-important, is, oddly enough, perhaps the element of least importance in the weighing of the value of a sale from a native to a non-native. The native, especially in old times, has practically no conception of value. He is more attracted by a musket than by money. He would sell a hundred acres or a thousand for a bottle of grog, just as willingly as he would sell half an acre for the same thing. His mind cannot grasp quantities. It cannot see the difference between a hundred and a thousand. Both are to him merely a largish number. . . . It is the primitive brain which has not yet learned to subdivide things up to the same extent that the civilized brain has."¹⁹

With increasing abundance of European goods, however, the native mind does set a lower valuation upon them. At Otaheite (Tahiti) the aborigines valued red feathers very highly until the supply forthcoming from Cook's crew made them fall so rapidly in value that more costly trade objects were required to induce the natives to surrender their produce; thus, "some of the natives would not part with a hog unless they received an axe in exchange." Nails, beads and other trinkets, which during Cook's former visits had enjoyed a strong demand, and with which the natives had been well supplied, now commanded but little value.²⁰ At a much later date (1826) Captain Beechey found that the frequent intercourse of Europeans with the islanders had effected a change in the nature of their desires so that "those tinselled ornaments with which we had provided ourselves were now objects of desire only as presents; the more substantial articles of clothing and hard dollars being required for the purposes of the market, except perhaps, where a ring or a jew's harp happened for the moment to attract the attention of some capricious individual."²¹ In 1834 a few muskets were sufficient to purchase from the natives of New Zealand a small shipload of flax, a blanket and the best pig in the country; but within a few years as the demand for European

¹⁷ Beechey, Capt. F. W., "Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait," p. 139.

¹⁸ Thomson, Basil, "The Fijians," p. 83.

¹⁹ Jacomb, Edw., "The Future of the Kanaka," pp. 82-3.

²⁰ Cook, Jas., "Third Voyage," II, 10-1.

²¹ Beechey, Capt. F. W., "Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait," p. 175.

goods was met by increasing supplies values fell rapidly.²² In the same manner the Melanesians very quickly learned to esteem necessities above luxuries.²³

The foregoing indicates that the native, when he comes in contact with the commercial races, does have some concept of value, but, inasmuch as his physical needs are so few and he has not as yet acquired a knowledge of civilized man's arts, his valuations appear to be misplaced—to such an extent indeed that many authorities state he has no idea of value. Thus we see his fancy and desire are first attracted by beads and petty trifles, whose use for self-decoration is quite apparent. Their scarcity at the time lends them an undue importance and consequently a high valuation. Later, when such baubles are in abundance and the savage learns the use of the tools and weapons of civilized man, it is the latter which assume value while the former are taken at their true worth.

Wherever the traders exercised foresight and fell into accord with native custom, trading in the native manner, they profited more thereby than in trying to introduce modern methods of purchase and sale. In North Borneo the jungle produce business is entirely in the hands of the Chinese, who procure from the Dusuns damar, beeswax, wild rubber, rattan and other natural products. These they trade with the coast people for fish, salt, produce and other articles offered by them. Although Straits Settlements' silver dollars and the North Borneo Company's notes and coinage are acceptable and known, the Chinese adhere to the native method of barter and will never part with cash unless forced to do so, since by bartering their goods they gain a double profit on every deal, and the native does not have the means of exact valuation.²⁴ Some of the Pakeha Maoris—white men who had settled among the Maoris for purposes of trade—adopted native custom to their great advantage. "They took into the interior large quantities of 'trade,' which they distributed among the tribe for nothing; when the proper season arrived they asked their chiefs for flax, which was given without payment; and by this plan more flax was obtained than if article had been placed against article."²⁵ In North Borneo the Chinese traders gained a firm foothold as middlemen in the indirect trade carried on by the natives of the interior and those on the coast, between whom there existed a strong dislike.²⁶

²² Thomson, A. S., "New Zealand," I, 259.

²³ Waitz, Theodor, "Anthropologie der Naturvölker," VI, 610.

²⁴ Evans, I. H. N., "Religion, Folklore and Custom in North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula," p. 131.

²⁵ Thomson, A. S., "New Zealand," I, 299.

²⁶ Evans, I. H. N., "Religion, Folklore and Custom in North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula," pp. 129-30.

The right to trade on the part of the individual is limited in many places by royal prerogative. This usually occurs where there is a relatively strong native organization able to restrict contact with culture groups. It might be thought that the chief or king places such restrictions upon his people to prevent possible injurious contact, but the evidence seems to point to royal revenue as the motive, as in New Caledonia where the French missionaries were obliged to purchase cocoanuts for the manufacture of oil through the chief who received a profit therefrom.²⁷ A familiar instance of profitable revenue, drawn from the use of nails by the chiefs of the Caroline Islands, is mentioned by Father Cantava: "Si, par hazard, un vaisseau étranger laisse dans leurs îles quelques vieux morceaux de fer, ils appartiennent de droit aux Tamoles, qui en font faire des outils, le mieux qu'il est possible. Ces outils font un fond dont le Tamole tire un revenu considerable, car il les donne à louage, et ce louage se paye assez chère."²⁸ In New Guinea innumerable presents must be given to the chiefs by white men whether travelers or traders. These gifts constitute a source of revenue for the chiefs, and in reality are nothing other than payments for permission to travel quietly through the country.²⁹

It is an interesting fact that imitation plays a very significant part in the transfusion of European methods of trade to the aborigines. In some few instances the natives are successful, but in the majority their lack of business sagacity in competition with the whites soon leads to failure. There is a conflict of customs and mores, and the hasty attempt at adoption of new customs results in a poor adjustment. The following illustration shows the point.

"A few years ago two of our villages in the Losi district decided that they would try the experiment of holding a market, exactly as they had seen it done in Noumea. The two principal articles of sale were to be yams and fish, because one village had an abundance of yams and a scarcity of fish, whereas the other had a surplus of fish and a deficiency of yams. The market was to be held in an open space between the two villages, and on Saturday afternoons. Each party piled up its wares on its own side of the chosen ground, and business commenced in earnest.

"A., a member of the fishing village, would walk with a stately tread across the intervening space to the yam stalls, and selecting a yam would gravely inquire the price. Then B., after looking at it fixedly for a minute or two,

²⁷ Thiercelin, "Voyage d'un baleinière," I, 305. (Quoted in Letourneau, Ch., "L'évolution de la propriété," p. 453.)

²⁸ Cook, Jas., "Third Voyage," II, 242.

²⁹ Romilly, H. H., "The Western Pacific and New Guinea," p. 235.

as though mentally calculating its weight and value, would reply, 'Oh, just give me as much fish as you think it is worth,' and the bargain was closed. When B. went to buy fish the same formula was observed. . . . It frequently happened that neither side had sold out all its produce, and as no one could be so mean as to carry his unsold wares home again, each party handed over all that was left as a present to the other party." Thus we see a persistence of tribal barter, cloaked under the screen of a modern market.²⁰

Another example of native simplicity in business matters is given by the same author :

"A number of Lifuans decided to buy a cutter that they might commence trading in her between the islands and Noumea. To raise money for the purchase of the vessel they all went to New Caledonia to work for one year. At the expiration of this time they had not nearly enough money, but were allowed to have their ship on credit. On their arrival at Lifu with the new vessel, the owners consulted together, being determined to have everything in good order, and leave no future ground for misunderstanding. Accordingly they drew up a code of regulations, among which were the following :

'All old people and little children are allowed to travel by this vessel free of charge, because such are unable to work for money.

'Native pastors, and students for the ministry, are likewise exempt from payment, because they spend their lives for the good of others, and not to earn money for themselves.

'The passage money to Noumea for an adult man or woman shall be fixed at ten francs. That of a pig at five francs.

'It is required of every man who wishes to send his pig to the Noumean market that he should accompany it and care for it during the passage. Since, however, he goes solely on account of his pig he need not pay any passage money.'

I think the board of directors began to suspect the wisdom of their regulations when they found that so many passengers who applied for a passage were accompanied by a pig. Certainly as a business speculation the vessel never made the money its owners had anticipated, though it did well enough as a charitable institution. It was finally wrecked before it had been wholly paid for."²¹

A more fortunate sequel attended a similar business venture in Tanna. The natives were unable to understand the fluctuations in the world's copra market which, of course, were reflected in the prices paid to them

²⁰ Hadfield, E., "Among the Natives of the Loyalty Group," pp. 220-1.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 218-9.

and, observing that they received only about half the prices the traders sold the commodity for, determined to augment their income. They hit finally upon the idea of purchasing a schooner for themselves and shipping their produce direct to Vila. All their advisers opposed the scheme, pointing out the lack of harbors and the risk involved, their lack of experience in navigating large vessels, and especially their lack of business training and the impossibility of keeping books where the shareholders would be so numerous. Nevertheless, the natives persisted, raised the necessary money, purchased the vessel, and have made several successful trips. "Even the opponents of the scheme have had to admit that the Tanna native is capable of running a commercial and maritime undertaking in competition with the white man."³²

In the Sandwich Islands King Kamehameha I was not loath to imitate the trading practices of the whites. When the conqueror learned that the mountain forests furnished a valuable product in the odoriferous and oleaginous sandalwood which at this time was in great demand in the China markets for incense and fancy articles, he claimed it as his own, and by heavy taxation compelled the people to spend much of their time in hunting out the trees, felling them, cleaning the wood, and bringing it down from the mountains on their backs. The king exchanged tons of sandalwood for such commodities as tobacco and alcohol, and sold large quantities for cash, but was not satisfied with his income. Accordingly, he decided to compete with the traders to China and procured and fitted out a ship for Canton which he loaded with a rich cargo of the wood. The speculation proved an utter failure; the charges for pilotage, anchorage, customhouse fees and repairs, and the pay and extravagances of his English commander and officers amounted to some \$3000 more than the proceeds of the cargo, which probably was not sold to the best advantage.³³ However, this costly experience brought to the king's notice a new source of public revenue, port-charges, which he imposed upon all foreign vessels entering his harbor.

A further case showing the evolution of trade on the native's side occurred in Otaheite, about 1826, when the queen, seeing the high estimation in which oyster shells were held by Europeans, decided to increase her revenue by levying a duty upon them. Accordingly orders were issued to all the tributary islands to seize vessels found trading in shells, and which had not previously obtained the royal license. The result was that

³² Jacomb, Edw., "The Future of the Kanaka," pp. 173-4.

³³ Bingham, Hiram, "Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands," p. 50.

this act became the pretext in some cases for the seizure and plunder of trading vessels.³⁴

The same widespread belief in the inherent integrity and honesty of primitive man before contact with the civilized races as was observed in the case of the American Indian is to be noted in connection with the Pacific Islanders. Likewise, the same complaint is freely made that it was the dishonesty and lack of good faith of the white man which taught the native to cheat, steal and lie. No less an authority than Herbert Spencer cites a number of cases which purport to show the high degree of honesty in primitive peoples, among whom he mentions the Malays, Papuans of New Guinea and the Polynesians.³⁵

In order to obtain a fair judgment upon this question, it is necessary to consider a number of ethnographical cases of early contact before European traders could have influenced the native mind. In New Zealand, while trading with the natives at the mouth of the river Thames, Cook observed that they were prone to be dishonest and pilfered various articles; the same was true of the natives between Tolaga and Mercury Bay.³⁶ The moral concepts of the people of Otaheite called forth emphatic censure from Cook, who usually made light of the aborigines' faults. He says, "Upon this occasion I must bear my testimony that the people of this country, of all ranks, men and women, are the arrantest thieves upon the face of the earth; the very day after we arrived here, when they came on board us, the Chiefs were employed in stealing what they could in the Cabin, and their dependents were no less industrious in other parts of the ship; they snatched up everything that it was possible for them to secrete till they got on shore." Cook further states that it was easy to see that the people could feel a sense of moral obligation, as was shown by the examination of Tabourai Tamaide who had been falsely accused of stealing.³⁷ Beechey found the Otaheitans no different than in Cook's day, for he informs us that their curiosity was excited more from a desire to ascertain what was capable of being pilfered than from any thirst for knowledge.

"We had taken the precaution to put all the movable articles that could be spared, below, and nothing was stolen from the upper decks; but in the midshipmen's berth, things had not been so carefully secreted, and a soup toureen, a spyglass, and some crockery were soon missing; the for-

³⁴ Beechey, Capt. F. W., "Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait," pp. 180-1.

³⁵ Spencer, Herbert, "Principles of Sociology," II, 234-5.

³⁶ Cook, Jas., "First Voyage" (Hawkesworth's), II, 337, 354.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 100-1.

mer was detected going over the side, and one of the tea-cups was observed in the possession of a person swimming away from the ship."³⁸ At the time of Cook's last voyage he observed that the increasing trade with the whites had enhanced the inducements to theft by the natives, both from the whites and from their fellow tribesmen. This was a result of the introduction among them of goods of value.³⁹

The natives of Anemocka wanted to carry off everything they saw; they had no respect for private property; likewise the people of Tanna.⁴⁰ Portlock suggested that ships visiting Onechow in the Sandwich Group have casks hooped with wood instead of iron for the purpose of getting water on shore. By this means much mischief might be avoided, he thought, because it would remove from the natives the temptation to steal. The Sandwich Islanders along the coast of Owhyhee exhibited no dishonest tendencies.⁴¹ In the Society Islands the same conditions prevailed; the natives of Eimeo stole the goats with which Cook had intended to stock some of the other islands; at Huaheine his sextant was stolen; the people of Bolabola Island were relatively honest.⁴² Of the Polynesians in the Lagoon Islands, it is said the strictest integrity was observed in all their dealings. If one person did not have the number of cocoanuts demanded for a piece of iron, he borrowed from his neighbor; if any of the fruit fell overboard, the party recovering it would restore such to its owner.⁴³ The D'Entre-casteaux natives are described as remarkably honest.⁴⁴ Grew says that the Maori is characterized in all his dealings by straightforward manliness.⁴⁵

D'Albertis found the natives of New Guinea had no scruples about breaking their agreements. On Yule Island they at first repaid every kindness shown them, but later, when D'Albertis was absent they ransacked his camp and made away with a quantity of his goods. It was necessary to force them to make restitution.⁴⁶ Romilly depicts them thus: "The character of the natives may best be described by a series of negatives. They are not graceful, they are not truth-telling, they are not honest . . . but then they are not ashamed of these defects, and they always laugh

³⁸ Beechey, Capt. F. W., "Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait," p. 104.

³⁹ Cook, Jas., "Third Voyage," II, 74.

⁴⁰ Cook, Jas., "Second Voyage," II, 11, 51-2.

⁴¹ Portlock, Nathaniel, "A Voyage Round the World," pp. 60, 84, 146-7.

⁴² Cook, Jas., "Third Voyage," II, 84, 99, 129.

⁴³ Beechey, Capt. F. W., "Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait," p. 138.

⁴⁴ Jenness, D., and Ballantyne, A., "The Northern D'Entre-casteaux," p. 207.

⁴⁵ Grew, J. C., "Waimangu and the Hot Spring Country," in *National Geographic Magazine*, Aug., 1925, p. 128.

⁴⁶ D'Albertis, L. M., "New Guinea," I, 165, 257-60, 349-50.

immoderately when they are found out.”⁴⁷ Howitt found the Dieri could be depended upon to keep their promises and agreements.⁴⁸ In the code of the Trobriand Islanders, depriving the white man of his superfluous possessions, such as trade goods, tinned food or tobacco, which he keeps locked in a niggardly fashion without using, is in a class by itself and is not considered a breach of law, morality or gentlemanly manners.⁴⁹

Occasionally it appears that the aborigines are to some extent indebted to European traders for fraud and deception. Thus the Admiralty Islanders readily took German newspapers in trade, thinking them to be fine cloth until rain had fallen. On their part they soon took to producing trade goods, shell hatchets and models of canoes, which were as badly made as European trade wares.⁵⁰

Gumplowicz asserts that in the nature of commerce there is always present a certain urge to defraud the foreigner, and that the conscience of the European trader is appeased by the thought that he who is thus treated is only a savage.⁵¹ This does indeed give us the key to the situation, only it applies to the savage in his dealings with civilized peoples as well as to the latter when dealing with the aborigines. It is a question of the “in” and the “out” groups; to cheat a member of the “in” group is wrong; defrauding a foreigner is not covered by the same moral taboos. With regard to the Fijians it is said:

“In the ancient moral code theft and cheating were virtues or vices according as to whether they were practised upon a stranger or a member of the tribe and inasmuch as the white man falls into the former category, and is possessed of priceless treasures to boot, it was not to be expected that the Fijian would regard cheating him as an offense against morality. It was an injury, and since to injure a man who had befriended you is a mean action, public opinion would mildly condemn the robbing of a friendly white man. Cheating and theft really date from the arrival of the Europeans, for in the small communities of the old time it was well-nigh impossible to rob a fellow-tribesman without being found out, and to despoil an enemy was, as it is with us, legitimate.”⁵²

The Melanesians generally have a propensity to steal from foreigners, and so powerful is the desire for booty that the robbing of a grave is in no wise a rare occurrence.⁵³

⁴⁷ Romilly, H. H., “The Western Pacific and New Guinea,” p. 240.

⁴⁸ Howitt, A. W., “The Native Tribes of South-East Australia,” p. 684.

⁴⁹ Malinowski, Bronislaw, “Crime and Custom in Savage Society,” p. 118.

⁵⁰ Moseley, H. N., “On the Inhabitants of the Admiralty Islands,” in J. A. I., vol. VI (1876), p. 412.

⁵¹ Gumplowicz, L., “Der Rassenkampf,” p. 215.

⁵² Thomson, Basil, “The Fijians,” pp. 306-7.

⁵³ Ratzel, Friedrich, “Völkerkunde,” I, 203.

The same conditions prevail from the standpoint of the civilized man—it is not wrong to take advantage of the child-like simplicity of the native in trade. Lippert very aptly compares the modern trader to the ancient Phoenician, showing that the sale of liquor and worthless trinkets to the savage of to-day is no different from the practice of those ancient tradesmen of the Mediterranean when treating with the barbarians.⁵⁴ For example, the method of trade practised by the Spaniards in the New Hebrides at the time of Mendana's visit was to seize canoes, and give them back again in exchange for pigs and poultry. Thus did the Spaniard conclude a fair bargain.⁵⁵

The Lifuans of the Loyalty Group had a peculiar concept of honesty, quite difficult for an outsider to understand, but which explains the cause of many disputes. It was a common practice for a man to pick up any piece of property which took his eye and walk off with it in the presence of the owner. The fact that the owner was *watching* him saved the act from being dishonest; the owner could retain possession by telling the thief to let it alone, otherwise silence gave consent. But it was well understood if he were permitted to carry off the coveted article that, in accord with the custom of the land, the person thus deprived would swoop down upon him some day, and either reclaim his own property or make off with something even more valuable.⁵⁶

From the foregoing illustrations it is evident that honesty is a relative and an abstract quality which depends upon the mores and customs of the people. Hence when people accustomed only to their own code try to judge that of another group, the result is inevitably unfavorable to those under observation. Nevertheless, aside from this fact, we meet with a very common idea among some writers that all nature peoples were honest, faithful and true to their agreements, as judged by our moral standards, until they came in contact with the unscrupulous white man who taught them all his vices but none of his virtues. The evidence, however, does not support this view. The earliest accounts of contact with nature peoples lead to the conclusion that honesty is a virtue, the sphere of which is entirely within the group and which seldom extends beyond the group; consequently the native does not regard it a moral issue when he practises dishonesty upon outsiders.

⁵⁴ Lippert, Julius, "Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit," I, 622-3.

⁵⁵ Markham, A. H., "The Cruise of the 'Rosario,'" pp. 8-9.

⁵⁶ Hadfield, E., "Among the Natives of the Loyalty Group," pp. 25-6.

CHAPTER XIII

EASEMENT OF THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE RESULTING FROM CONTACT

The social and economic effects of contact between primitive and civilized races are reflected most clearly in the broad societal sphere of self-maintenance. There it is that we can judge whether, as a consequence of their association with the culture races, the Pacific Islanders have gained or lost in the forces which they have been able to line up against the struggle for existence.

The problem first called to our attention is whether contact has induced and stimulated individual efforts and whether it has tended to produce higher standards of living and steadier habits of industry in the aboriginal peoples. Of all the benefits which association with the Caucasian is said to have afforded to the primitive races one of the most frequently mentioned is that thereby the savage has been taught to apply his energy to useful and productive purposes.

In all uncivilized tribes a chief characteristic seems to be the lack of persistence in labor. The people may be fired with enthusiasm and work voluntarily for a period of time, but soon their industry lags and the gains expected appear too remote, with the result that the project falls through. For example, in New Guinea the people of Turituri took up as a village contract from a planter the clearing of one hundred acres of land on very remunerative terms. The job was performed, but with a growing lack of energy on the part of the natives. Another case of like nature occurred when the people of Parama (New Guinea) bought a cutter and commenced with much talk and enthusiasm to dive for pearl-shell. The fever lasted about a week, and actual work no longer.¹

Contact with the civilized nations does, however, lead to the creation of new wants among the untutored savages. This is undoubtedly the most important stimulus brought to bear upon the productive energy of the natives; they cannot secure the desired objects without offering something with an equivalent exchange value. Thus we see King Kamehameha I engaging in the sandalwood trade in order to secure arms, ammunition and

¹ Beaver, Wilfred N., "Unexplored New Guinea," p. 298.

other supplies from the white man.² In New Zealand muskets assumed a value of utmost importance. Every adult must have firearms, and the only commodity with an exchange value available to the natives was flax. Hence industry in the cultivation of flax was indispensable in order to fulfill their new wants.³ Two muskets were paid for one ton of flax, which had to be scraped by hand, bit by bit, with a shell. They were compelled to cultivate the ground with sharpened sticks, not being able to purchase the much desired iron tools until the pressing need of muskets had been met.⁴ Occasionally the type of industry which was developed by the demand for new wants was of a most unfavorable nature, as is shown by the European demand for preserved native heads which were highly valued by European museums. When the New Zealanders found that muskets could be procured in exchange for preserved heads the supply at once increased. Formerly only the head of the chief had been preserved as a matter of honor, but now, with a commercial value, a custom arose of preserving those of enemies and of slaves who were slaughtered for that purpose.⁵

No people, however, exerted a more beneficial influence on the aborigines of New Zealand than the whalers by creating new wants and introducing new customs. Everything used by them was coveted by the natives who exchanged pigs, flax, labor and land willingly for tea, sugar, tobacco, blankets and dresses. Many natives shipped themselves on whaling vessels where they soon developed skill and dexterity.⁶ In Australia contact did not lead to any noticeable increase in the industrial activity of the natives. The savages preferred a life of freedom to all the advantages and conveniences of civilization; they looked upon all labor as degrading and on hunting as the only dignified and manly occupation. "The black man does not work," say the Australians, "for he is of high birth."⁷ "Of the first elements of civilization, the arts of agriculture, they are still, notwithstanding the presence of Europeans on the coast of Australia for fifty years, thoroughly ignorant, and it is doubtful whether a New Hollander has ever cultivated a potato on his own account."⁸

The natives along the Herbert River in Australia, who do not come in

² *Supra*, p. 137.

³ Thomson, A. S., "New Zealand," I, 258.

⁴ A Pakeha Maori (ed. Earl of Pembroke), "Old New Zealand," pp. 162-3.

⁵ Thomson, A. S., "New Zealand," I, 263—quoting Rev. Mr. Yates, 1838.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 205.

⁷ Peschel, Oscar, "The Races of Man," p. 153.

⁸ Jameson, R. G., "New Zealand, South Australia and New South Wales," p. 63.

direct contact with the whites, have but few wants, though some have been acquired, such as that for tobacco which they secure from other tribes having closer relationships with civilized groups.⁹ In New Caledonia, the New Hebrides and Santa Cruz Islands, increasing commercial contact has given rise to a significant cultivation of the cocoanut palm by the natives.

Not without many qualifications can it be said that the white man taught the natives of Australasia and Polynesia how to work. What happened in every case in which an increase in industrial activity has been noted was that, the desire of the aborigines for certain European goods being awakened, they engaged in such productive enterprise and labor for the whites as would give them the wherewithal to secure the articles they coveted. Contact diverted their energies into new channels, some of which have been distinctly beneficial and others harmful to the welfare of the primitive group.

Material benefits received by the backward races through commercial contact consist mostly of tools and implements which have been introduced by the white traders. At Vauna Lava Markham observed that the natives were willing to pay exorbitant prices for glass bottles—a pig weighing over two hundredweight being received for one. The glass was specially valuable to the natives for making sharp instruments with which they shaped their weapons.¹⁰ The Chinese traders in New Guinea are responsible for introducing to the natives many commodities of value for a higher standard of living, such as cotton goods, pottery and arms.¹¹ In the Caroline Islands women were the first to adopt European dress, the old forms, made of palm leaf and bast, fast disappearing.¹²

It is where new products contribute directly in the food quest that the most ready adoption is seen. Of the Australians Lumholtz says,

"When the natives become 'civilized' they at once exchange their stone weapons for the white man's weapons of iron. They are particularly fond of his tomahawk. Even on Herbert River the stone axe had given place to the latter tool, which, however, was so rare in some parts that a whole tribe sometimes had to be satisfied with one or two implements of this kind. Blacks who have never seen a white man occasionally get iron implements by bartering with other tribes. After becoming civilized the Australian native begins to make tomahawks from broken horseshoes or from some other piece of iron, and to stud his club with nails. There are instances on record where the natives

⁹ Lumholtz, Carl, "Among Cannibals," p. 106.

¹⁰ Markham, A. H., "The Cruise of the 'Rosario,'" pp. 170-1.

¹¹ D'Albertis, L. M., "New Guinea," I, 168, 177-8.

¹² Ratzel, Friedrich, "Völkerkunde," I, 190.

have cut down the telegraph poles and used the wire for spear points and fish-hooks."¹³

In Tanna, where European immigration was relatively restricted because of geographical isolation, but where the few planters and settlers were of a higher class than the average, the result of contact has been most favorable to the aborigines. The whites have acted to a certain extent as educators of the natives and, as a consequence, rapid acculturation has taken place; thus the natives have learned the elements of commerce and have been stimulated to undertake trading ventures of their own. They have made a positive gain as a result of their relations with the English.¹⁴ The Maoris were directly indebted to the whalers for their improved means of subsistence. Canoes were superseded by whale boats, in the management of which the natives became very proficient; chimneys, beds and glass windows were introduced in native huts. The whalers taught their native wives the domestic arts practised by European women, such as cooking, sewing and the essentials of hygiene. The "whaler" natives were much better able to cope with the struggle for existence than the missionary natives, for, although they could not read and write, they did know more English, were better clad and more industrious than those under the tutelage of the missionaries.¹⁵ Fijian agriculture was greatly improved and the burden of labor considerably lightened by European tools; thus more ground was planted and a greater output obtained. Yams were formerly weeded with a hoe made of a plate of tortoise shell; iron tools have supplanted these almost entirely.¹⁶ The Red Creek natives of British New Guinea, at the earnest solicitation of the government, were induced to settle down in the village of Seragi. Here they became market gardeners and soon found a ready sale for their products in the miners' camps in the neighborhood. They thus assured themselves of a more steady food supply and higher standards of living through peaceful intercourse with the whites and the unconscious absorption of European mores.¹⁷ Although firearms are usually said to be responsible for reducing primitive man's means of subsistence by leading to wanton destruction of food animals and to warfare, Thomson believes them to be the final cause of peace in New Zealand. He states that, after firearms became common, battles became less frequent and less fatal

¹³ Lumholtz, Carl, "Among Cannibals," pp. 335-6.

¹⁴ Jacomb, Edw., "The Future of the Kanaka," p. 104.

¹⁵ Thomson, A. S., "New Zealand," I, 295-6.

¹⁶ Thomson, Basil, "The Fijians," p. 339.

¹⁷ Murray, J. H. P., "Papua or British New Guinea," pp. 102-3.

because men's passions were less excited in distant than in close conflict. In the olden days warriors were maddened by the deadly struggle of man with man and victims were invariably slain or enslaved.¹⁸

¹⁸ Thomson, A. S., "New Zealand," I, 262.

CHAPTER XIV

INTENSIFICATION OF THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE BY CONTACT

If we were to regard every mode and custom adopted by savage man from his civilized brother as a progressive step forward and as an advance to civilization, then we should be precluded from asserting that contact often exerts a baneful and destructive influence. But the fact is that the acquisition of our arts and customs and the contiguity of the two culture groups result in the acceptance of a mass of mores and customs by the lower groups, many of which very soon prove a destructive maladaptation. Many times, however, we find the case reversed, where the presence of the whites necessitates new forms of acquisition and new adaptations, which the savage, clinging tenaciously to the old, rejects and is thereupon plunged into dire conflict with the civilized races.

The most glaring examples of a reduction of the means of subsistence for the natives of the Pacific are to be noticed in the extensive land-grabbing campaigns of the civilized powers. The regions of the Pacific Islands and Australasia exhibited a case where the environment could not support a much greater number of people under the existing stage of the arts. Numbers had been maintained at a more or less stationary mark. With the advent of the white settler, however, the situation gradually changed and the native, holding to his ancient customs, found his means of support rapidly disappearing. Eyre, speaking of the state of affairs in Australia, queries, "It is true that they do not cultivate the ground; but have they, therefore, no interest in its productions? Does it not supply grass for the sustenance of the wild animals upon which in a great measure they are dependent for their subsistence? . . . does it not afford roots and vegetables to appease their hunger? . . . water to satisfy their thirst, and wood to make their fire? . . . or are these necessities left to them by the white man when he comes to take possession of their soil? Alas, it is not so! All are in turn taken away from the original possessors. The game of the wilds that the European does not destroy for his amusement are driven away by his flocks and herds. The waters are occupied and enclosed, and access to them is frequently forbidden. The fields are

fenced in, and the natives are no longer at liberty to dig up roots—the white man claims the timber, and the very firewood itself is occasionally denied to them.”¹ In like vein Grey says, “But directly an European settles down in the country, his constant residence in one spot soon sends the animals away from it and, although he may in no other way interfere with the natives, the mere circumstance of his residing there does the man on whose land he settles the injury of depriving him of his ordinary means of subsistence.”² The mere change of habits of life may induce physical decline in the savage race, especially when enclosures by the stronger group occur and the pursuit of wild animals becomes impossible.³

The disposition of native lands by the conquering governments portrays one of the best reasons for the decline of backward races. It strikes directly at their means of subsistence. As before stated, the aborigines had no concept of the relative values of things. Land appeared most plentiful, there was a shortage of white man's goods, hence nothing was more natural than that primitive man should have very inadequate notions of the respective values of the factors involved.

Probably the first time the New Zealanders realized that land was a commodity possessing value was when the missionaries gave them twelve axes for two hundred acres upon which they desired to erect a mission station. But the natives, in fact, did not rightly comprehend the nature of this transaction, for some of them thought they were getting the axes, not for the land, but for their marks or signatures attached to the purchase deed. None of them thought they were signing away all their rights and claims to the land, for never before had that been done. Their tribes had occasionally exchanged pieces of land with each other before this, but the original owner never relinquished the sovereignty over it, and the land thus exchanged could never be disposed of to a third party without the consent of the first owner.⁴ To the Maori the land seemed as nothing compared to the wares of the European; “and just as at Port Phillip blacks disposed of 600,000 acres of land for a few axes, looking-glasses and other articles of equal value, so the Maoris were quite ready to part with strips of their possessions for an equally paltry consideration. Much of their possessions they alienated in this way, but discovered their mistake

¹ Eyre, E. J., “Central Australia,” II, 159-61.

² Grey, George, “Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery in Northwest and Western Australia,” II, 297-8.

³ Bryce, Jas., “The Relations of the Advanced and the Backward Races of Mankind,” pp. 10-1.

⁴ Thomson, A. S., “New Zealand,” I, 267.

when they began to realize the value of things more correctly. Then there arose amongst them an indisposition to barter away their inheritance upon terms so one-sided . . . but they acquired this knowledge at great cost to themselves, for immense areas had slipped through their hands absolutely for nothing in the shape of price."⁵ Before 1839 over 20,000,000 acres of land were claimed as having been purchased by white men.⁶ The extent of land possessed by the natives before the white man came was approximately some sixty-six million acres, of which at the beginning of the twentieth century the Maoris retained only about five million acres. The result, as far as the state is concerned, has been a long list of aged and pauperized natives who have been forced to apply for state aid under the Old Age Pension Act.⁷ The government of New Zealand never adopted a definite land policy, sometimes maintaining the right of pre-emption, at other times permitting free trade in native land. If the government exercised the right of pre-emption, it took blocks from the natives at prices far below their value; if free trade prevailed, the natives were robbed right and left by land sharks who purchased the land, not for occupation and settlement, but for speculation. The Treaty of Waitangi, entered into by only a part of the chiefs, guaranteed to the chiefs and people of New Zealand the full and undisturbed possession of their lands so long as they desired to retain them. Later this treaty was invoked to force the chiefs, even those who were not parties to the treaty, to sell their lands under the government's right of pre-emption.⁸

Like the New Zealanders, the Fijians had an entirely different concept of the rights of land ownership than the European settlers. For example, they recognized a distinction between the ownership of land and of the trees, or rather the fruit of the trees, growing on the land. In a true sale the consent of all parties having an interest in the property concerned must be had, and the exact boundary and value of each parcel of land defined and determined; the value of each fruit tree must be ascertained, and every person's interest satisfied. Thus the difficulty of purchasing lands in accordance with local custom is self-evident. But the European theory was that the chief owned the land and it was only necessary to treat with him. As a rule the chiefs were quite ready to meet this common belief of Europeans and to sell land which did not belong to them. Some sales were honestly made, but more often the chief sold land in which his

⁵ Grey, J. Grattan, "Australasia, Old and New," p. 247.

⁶ Thomson, A. S., "New Zealand," I, 268.

⁷ Grey, J. Grattan, "Australasia, Old and New," p. 255.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 247-9. Note: See Appendix, p. 361. Procedure when Maoris sell land. Also Treaty of Waitangi, p. 362.

title consisted of nothing but his willingness to receive some calico and guns.⁹

To the Fijian "Land had no value except in so far as it produced food, and, therefore, the mere possession of it was not coveted unless there were inferiors living on it as cultivators. But as soon as it was realized that land, when leased to Europeans, produced money, the earth-hunger of the chiefs increased a thousandfold. They now laid claims to lands which, twenty years before, they would not have accepted as a gift, and tried to prove their case by quoting instances in which the resident cultivators had done them *lala* service. The rival claimants would as eagerly assert that the services in question were given in token of gratitude for protection, or out of mere neighborly feeling in times of scarcity—for anything, in short, but rent, and would allege delicate shades of distinction in the ritual employed. But all alike admitted that a chief's interest in land would be established if he could prove an ancient right to order gardens to be planted by subject tribes, or to demand services from them in house-building, fishing, or contributions for the entertainment of visitors. In few cases did the chiefs claim an absolute proprietorship in the soil; they admitted that the land was vested in the people living upon it, subject to the usual tribute."¹⁰

In most of the land transactions with aboriginal groups we find the native shows scarcely any more intelligence than a mere child. He is seldom able to read the document presented and does not understand it. Thus the chance of his making a wise use of his freedom in this respect is very slight. Moreover practically all these deals took place in pidgin-English on the part of the white purchasers, and either in pidgin-English direct on the part of the native vendor or through the medium of a native interpreter speaking the dialect to the purchaser and the native language to the vendor.¹² Thus the opportunities for misunderstanding were legion.¹³

Very similar in effect to the appropriation of land by the white races and the consequent decrease of means of support for the natives, is the appropriation and destruction of natural resources by the invading white man or by the natives themselves for commercial gain. The sandalwood trade illustrates this point. The English at first used to press the islanders into service to cut the wood for them, showing great cruelty if they refused. In 1842 the crews of two British vessels landed at Sandwich Island to cut wood, and when the islanders objected twenty-six were shot

⁹ Codrington, R. H., "The Melanesians, Their Anthropology and Folklore," pp. 60-1.

¹⁰ *Lala*, right to exact labor services from persons on the land, *corvée*.

¹¹ Thomson, Basil, "The Fijians," p. 71.

¹² Jacomb, Edw., "The Future of the Kanaka," p. 80.

¹³ See Appendix, pp. 363-4, for comparison of above land policies with those of the Papuan government, and of the French government in New Caledonia.

down and several others forced to take refuge in a large cave; the English thereupon set fire to a pile of brushwood at the mouth of the cave and suffocated the unfortunate occupants.¹⁴ A few years later, in 1846, three English ships with crews consisting of Tongans and white men were engaged in loading sandalwood at the same island. The crews, eager to appropriate anything of value, seized two hundred swine, great quantities of yams and maliciously destroyed the huts and plantations of the natives.¹⁵ The sandalwood trade lasted some twenty years, keeping ten to fourteen English ships busy. The wanton destruction of the trees finally caused it to cease.¹⁶

A natural consequence of the destruction of material resources and the loss of land was a diminution in the native food supply. A contributing factor is seen in the ancient custom of unlimited hospitality, which survives in the mores of many primitive groups. Thomson informs us that "with the introduction of European-built vessels, and the safety of travelers from attack, traveling for pleasure has much increased, without any diminution of the hospitality to visitors, which is enjoined by customary law. The ravages of the imported banana disease, and the damage done in some islands to the breadfruit by horses (lately introduced), which are inordinately fond of gnawing the juicy bark, have diminished the supply of two important articles of food."¹⁷ The Marquesans of old followed the praiseworthy custom of planting breadfruit trees upon the birth of children to insure subsistence to their posterity. Now with the decrease in population and the lack of recent cultivation the seedless tree cannot compete unassisted with the more vigorous forest flora.¹⁸ In the Trobriands the government has licensed pearl buyers and restricted pearl-fishing to natives only in order to save their most important food supply.¹⁹ Such conditions prevailing, the only solution seems to be a substitution of European foods for native products which are becoming insufficient. It must be observed, however, that where the natives have given up their old vegetable diet and are living on rice and meat their health has suffered, as, for instance, in the New Hebrides. A too strong meat diet causes boils, and the cessation from garden work encourages idleness.²⁰

¹⁴ Markham, A. H., "The Cruise of the 'Rosario,'" pp. 45-6.

¹⁵ Jung, Karl E., "Der Weltteil Australien," II, 196.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

¹⁷ Thomson, Basil, "The Fijians," p. 338.

¹⁸ Murphy, R. C., "The Romance of Science in Polynesia," in *National Geographic Magazine*, Oct., 1925, p. 370.

¹⁹ Murray, J. H. P., "Papua or British New Guinea," pp. 322-3.

²⁰ Speiser, Dr. Felix, "Decadence and Preservation in the New Hebrides," in "Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia" (ed. Rivers, W. H. R.), p. 30.

While intercourse with foreigners has had a most unfavorable effect on the regularity of the food supply of the Fiji Islanders, it has been of little or no influence in providing the natives with substitute articles of diet.

"Preserved meats, biscuits, bread, tea, and sugar are used by many of the richer natives, but always as luxuries. To these, and more particularly to the use of sugar, the natives attribute the decay of their teeth, a condition which was unknown to the last generation . . . it is a remarkable fact that among quite a hundred skulls which I have examined in burying-caves, I have never seen a decayed tooth, whereas it was lately possible for an American dentist to realize a considerable sum by selling sets of false teeth to the native chiefs."

In regard to staple foods, the Fijian refuses to regard either maize or rice as fit for human food, and considers bread and biscuits quite inferior to yams and taro.²¹

Speaking of humanity in general Sir Henry Sumner Maine says, "It is indisputable that much the greatest part of mankind has never shown a particle of desire that its civil institutions should be improved. . . ." ²² Nothing could be more truly descriptive of primitive man, except to add that his repugnance to change is frequently just as deep-seated when it is merely a question of a trivial modification of some every-day habit or custom as it is when the more highly developed institutions are involved. Indeed, to such an extent does this conservatism go that many savage groups refuse to adopt any new methods of preparing their food and will not partake of foods to which they are not accustomed. The Papuans of the Managulasi tribe were unacquainted with the use of earthenware pots and did all their cooking on stones. If removed to another environment where they did not have the indispensable stones to cook their food on, they would rather starve than eat food prepared otherwise. The Papuan legends of the Kiwai (New Guinea) express the fear inspired in the natives by food with which they are not familiar.²³

The introduction of firearms and European intoxicants has played its usual rôle among the peoples of the South Pacific. The natives in many parts were accustomed to their own weak intoxicants, but the use of such was generally under certain restrictions. In the Tonga Islands, before contact with whites had become important, the king reserved the right of distillation as a royal prerogative, all the liquor being his private property which he sold or gave as favor or reward to whomsoever he

²¹ Thomson, Basil, "The Fijians," pp. 338-9.

²² Maine, Sir Henry Sumner, "Ancient Law," p. 22.

²³ Lévy-Bruhl, L., "La mentalité primitive," pp. 448-9.

chose. The natives were prone to excesses whenever higher authority did not interfere. Hence it is but to be expected that, with the white man's arrival and the decrease in the power of native authority, excesses should be noted.²⁴ Contact, however, is not responsible in this case for inculcating a taste for liquor in the Tongans, though it is responsible for the breakdown of authority which made such excesses possible.

The Melanesians were accustomed to kava, but when alcohol became available, drinking tended to increase greatly. Legislation has failed to suppress its consumption, and its sale continues more or less openly. The missionaries have taken a decided step in the matter, and condemn not only alcohol but kava just as vigorously. Kava, according to Dr. Speiser, is drunk very moderately in the New Hebrides, and does very little harm unless taken in excessive quantities. In olden times kava-drinking was restricted to natives of high rank and to certain festivities, but with the breakdown of old mores has become general. It has always been forbidden to women. Dr. Speiser thinks its use in moderation might properly be permitted in order to allay the craving for alcohol.²⁵ As the Australian blacks acquired "civilization," their desire for alcohol and opium grew in like measure. They obtained liquor from the whites at the stations and villages where they loafed about, and obtained their taste for opium from Chinese immigrants.²⁶

One of the most destructive forces for the aborigines as a consequence of commercial relations with Europeans was the adoption of firearms. The destruction consisted not only in man-power and productive energy, but in making agriculture insecure and in the decadence of old means of support. Hongi, one of the New Zealand chiefs, visited England in 1822, acting the part of a devout Christian. He was showered with gifts and presents. On his return to New Zealand these valuable gifts were immediately converted into guns and ammunition, and Hongi with one thousand followers started upon a campaign of annihilation. At Totara five hundred of the enemy were slain and three hundred eaten; at Matakaitaki fourteen hundred were slain. A couple years later Rauparaha was able to purchase a large stock of powder and muskets from Cook's Strait whalers, and at once began his depopulating wars upon the defenseless natives of the North and Middle Islands.²⁷ Such slaughter was impossible

²⁴ Martin, John, "The Tonga Islands," I, xxxiii.

²⁵ Speiser, Dr. Felix, "Decadence and Preservation in the New Hebrides," in "Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia" (ed. Rivers, W. H. R.), p. 30.

²⁶ Stokes, J. L., "Discoveries in Australia," I, 251-2. Lumholtz, Carl, "Among Cannibals," p. 338.

²⁷ Thomson, A. S., "New Zealand," I, 255-6, 260.

in the earlier days for in New Zealand, as in Melanesia, wars were not very serious; the skill of the aggressor was usually matched by the defender's skill in dodging his spears and arrows, and fighting ceased when each side had lost a few men. Fighting in ambush was as dangerous to the assailant as to the attacked, but with the use of the rifle a deadly advantage was given to one party. The only result was extermination. Killing became a regular sport.²⁸

Various modifications of native custom, coming as a result of white influence, have had a decidedly harmful effect upon the native races of the Pacific. Of these the most important are clothing and housing. The Australian, as a mark of his "civilization," begins to wear clothes. At the same time he becomes more subject to disease. He regards clothes as ornaments to be worn at pleasure; thus he will perspire during the heat of the day in a woolen jacket and in the evening, when he does have some need of it, he will take it off and sleep in his old-fashioned way. On a hunt he lays aside all clothes. It is this careless and thoughtless way of wearing clothes that brings on colds, rheumatic fevers and lung diseases.²⁹ The rapid declension of the Tasmanians is traceable in part to the use of European clothing. They soon discovered the comforts of covering, and received blankets and clothing from settlers and from government distribution. "But of all created animals, the untaught savage is the most imprudent; and he often kept his prize no longer than it suited the idle habits of the wanderer to carry it. Hence he was wrapped up like a mummy one week, and was as naked as a newly-born infant the next. The climate of Tasmania is also a variable one."³⁰ Likewise in Melanesia the natives show no consistency in wearing clothes; one day a man will appear in a flimsy loin cloth and a hat; the next day, a warmer one, he may wear a shirt in addition. Sometimes he may appear with trousers only, again with trousers, shirt, vest, jacket and a hat. The women wear several layers of skirts and often a short bodice. When the skirt becomes ragged, instead of throwing it away, another is added to cover it; thus the rags beneath are left until they gradually rot off. The rainfall in such places as Vanua Lava is abnormally heavy, averaging about half an inch per day all the year round. The people work in the fields with their saturated clothes clinging to their limbs and, when through, all sit down before a fire and dry themselves in this manner.³¹ In spite of the fact

²⁸ Speiser, Dr. Felix, "Decadence and Preservation in the New Hebrides," in "Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia" (ed. Rivers, W. H. R.), p. 36.

²⁹ Lumholtz, Carl, "Among Cannibals," pp. 84, 182.

³⁰ Calder, J. E., "Native Tribes of Tasmania," in J. A. I., vol. III (1873), p. 14.

³¹ Durrad, Rev. W. J., "The Depopulation of Melanesia," in "Essays on the

that European clothing is such an evident maladaptation for the aborigines, many of the missionaries in the New Hebrides approve of it, some even going so far as to make clothing a condition for baptism. The traders find a profit in the sale of clothing and accordingly encourage its use.³²

Housing is another modification of native custom which has frequently resulted disastrously for the backward races. The native Melanesian house is usually rainproof, of good proportions, and constructed so as to give sufficient ventilation. It is thoroughly adapted to the conditions of the country. The European settlers, however, not realizing the advantages of native types of construction, have built houses with thick walls and very imperfect means of ventilation; such houses the missionaries have built for their followers, and in many places the natives have tended to copy the European style. Such buildings are simply proving disease breeders.³³ The reduction of native population in Hawaii from about 300,000 in Captain Cook's time to about 30,000 in 1883 has been attributed largely to the substitution of wooden houses for the old wigwams which, woven of long grass, had secured natural ventilation.³⁴

The conflict of mores produced by the commercial intercourse of advanced and backward peoples has resulted in the decline of a large part of the old mores which once centered about the daily interests of life; on the other hand it also produced a resistance, and a tenacity to retain certain mores whose perpetuation constituted a serious handicap to the native groups.

The Australians show very well the decadence of their old mores. Contact has made them more indolent; they have lost their former self-reliance and independence, for they have acquired the habit of depending upon what they can get from the settlers. Their old skill and knowledge in the technique of making tools and weapons seem to have declined with the use of imported ones made of iron. Likewise, with better tools the native takes less pains with all kinds of carving at which he was once adept.³⁵ Cook, on his third voyage, in speaking of the Society Islanders, suggests the difficulty of reverting to former means and methods which represented adjustments of the people to their environment for ages

Depopulation of Melanesia" (ed. Rivers, W. H. R.), pp. 7, 8. Ellis, Wm., "Polynesian Researches," II, 391 ff., 398.

³² Speiser, Dr. Felix, "Decadence and Preservation in the New Hebrides," in "Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia" (ed. Rivers, W. H. R.), p. 30.

³³ Rivers, W. H. R., "The Psychological Factor," in "Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia" (ed. Rivers, W. H. R.), p. 92.

³⁴ Bryce, Jas., "The Relations of the Advanced and the Backward Races of Mankind," p. 11.

³⁵ Lumholtz, Carl, "Among Cannibals," pp. 336, 338.

past. "By the time that the iron tools, of which they are now possessed, are worn out, they will have almost lost the knowledge of their own. A stone hatchet is, at present, as rare a thing amongst them as an iron one was eight years ago; and a chisel of bone or stone is not to be seen. Spike nails have supplied the place of these last; and they are weak enough to fancy that they have got an inexhaustible store of them; for these were not now at all sought after." Cook was astonished at the natives' lack of foresight, and the facility with which they dropped their old customs.³⁶ Sometimes the ancient usages representing the arts and advancement of a people are gradually lost when such a tribe is oppressed and driven away by more powerful groups. This is what happened in New Zealand, for example, where some of the early inhabitants were forced to flee from the mainland to the Chatham Islands which possessed but few natural resources. The same thing is observable in the flight of most aboriginal groups from the encroachments of advanced peoples.³⁷

The spread of civilization has invariably weakened the vital mores of primitive groups. The attitude of paternalism of the white nations has done nothing to revive the old arts and customs of the backward races, nor have any widespread attempts been made to inculcate into the natives new mores and customs which will be compensatory adjustments. In the Pacific Islands the theory seems to be to give the natives just enough to maintain life, no more. No thought is given to providing for their future or stimulating in them a desire for development and increase. In Fiji the policy has been more favorable; the natives have been allowed to retain the bulk of their country, but there has been no provision for teaching them how to use their lands or why they should use them. In the Ellice Group and in Papua the attitude of the government shows a greater realization of the need of supplanting the old customs by new. There the natives are being made to plant their lands little by little every year.³⁸

The persistence of certain unfavorable mores in a group, after contact has made such mores ill-adapted to changing conditions, frequently proves as great an obstacle to the advancement of a primitive people as the loss of those other mores whose retention would seem highly desirable. The Australian certainly has suffered through the survival of certain usages unsuitable to the new type of life contact ushered in. He is strongly influenced by the natural ties of blood, the authority of parents, and the influence and examples of relatives and friends, to say nothing of the

³⁶ Cook, Jas., "Third Voyage," II, 136-7.

³⁷ Taylor, Richard, "Te Ika a Maui or New Zealand and Its Inhabitants," p. 7.

³⁸ Jacomb, Edw., "The Future of the Kanaka," p. 66.

seductive attraction which the ancestral customs hold out to the young of both sexes. The adults make their encampments in the vicinity of the schools and the children, when out of school, are entirely under the influence of their parents and elders, absorbing the very customs which the schools are trying to supplant. Furthermore, the parents can see no advantage in allowing their children to remain in school. They find that the absorption of European mores by their children tends to undermine parental authority and traditional custom; also that the presence of their children at school means an economic loss, for in the native mode of life the services of children are often very important.³⁹ The future benefits of education are too remote for the native to grasp.

The survival in primitive societies of the old mores of hospitality and communism in the face of changed conditions has produced several cases of maladaptation. The Australian native when employed on a farm invariably shares his earnings with all his relatives and friends who live in the native camp in the vicinity. The latter do not care to hunt or bestir themselves, but live on what the few industrious men or women earn from the squatter. If, perchance, an individual is fortunate enough to save a pound, he and his friends forthwith go to town and buy brandy and opium with the money.⁴⁰ Under the old native customs of New Zealand the difficulty of acquiring and holding private property is so great as to paralyze individual exertion. Crawford says, "I observed one Maori, more industrious than his neighbors, who owned a cow and milked it, but the rest of the tribe helped themselves to the milk as a matter of course, and the owner thought himself lucky to be allowed to retain a small modicum."⁴¹ The Tongans were considerably surprised to learn that in Europe a man's larder was not common property, and that one must have an invitation before entering a friend's house for meals. To the Tongans this was the height of selfishness and expressive of the ill-nature of white people.⁴²

In the early days when Fiji had no intercourse with the white races, and when there existed but one standard of industry and all men worked alike, *kere-kere*, or the custom of begging by the poorer members of the society from the more fortunate ones, was an efficient adaptation. But with changed conditions the custom has become a brake on native progress. Public opinion still forces the richer man to give what is asked of him,

³⁹ Eyre, E. J., "Central Australia," II, 427, 437.

⁴⁰ Lumholtz, Carl, "Among Cannibals," p. 343.

⁴¹ Crawford, J. C., "Travels in New Zealand and Australia," p. 114.

⁴² Martin, John, "The Tonga Islands," I, 70-1.

although he well knows there is no chance of ever receiving an equivalent from his thriftless donee. Fijians show a great deal of resentment against any of their number who tries to improve his position or accumulate property. If an individual does brave their ridicule, he is made the victim of an organized boycott which deters others from following his example. The obvious result is that an idle majority live at the expense of the industrious minority, and the latter do not have the moral determination to resist their organized spoliation.⁴³ Conditions in Samoa are scarcely better, for native customs have the same disastrous effect upon the accumulation of wealth. According to Stevenson, "To work more is there only to be pillaged; to save is impossible. The family has there made a good day of it when all are filled and nothing remains over for the crew of freebooters; and the injustice of the system begins to be recognized even in Samoa."⁴⁴ The communal feeling survives tenaciously in New Guinea. The Papuan is ready and expects to share his possessions with others; when a village sends a body of young men to work it is mainly for the community, not for the individual; consequently a large part of their wages go to the clan or family.⁴⁵

Another custom which could not prove advantageous under modern conditions is the *solevu* in Fiji. It is the survival of an old mode of trading, namely, to make a ceremonial presentation of goods to one's neighbor with the expectation of receiving the equivalent at some time in the future. Although the *solevu* is gradually disappearing, it still continues alongside the modern method of informal sale.⁴⁶

Thus a consideration of the material consequences of the contact between civilized peoples and the natives of Australasia and Polynesia leads inevitably to the conclusion that the above factors, tending to intensify the struggle for existence waged by the aborigines at the present time, more than counterbalance those acquisitions of art and culture which would tend to promote their welfare.

⁴³ Thomson, Basil, "The Fijians," pp. 80, 83.

⁴⁴ Stevenson, R. L., "A Footnote to History," p. 17.

⁴⁵ Beaver, Wilfred N., "Unexplored New Guinea," p. 294.

⁴⁶ Thomson, Basil, "The Fijians," p. 286.

CHAPTER XV

THE QUEST FOR LABOR

In a day when the South Sea Islands beckon with the most alluring charms to the tourist, and furnish the setting for innumerable romances and novels, it may be interesting to turn back the pages of history to note how the native has fared in competition with his white brother. The story of the labor trade is indeed one of the most interesting, and at the same time one of the saddest phases of the commercial contact between the European peoples and the Pacific Islanders. It was not until 1860 that Dr. Berthold Seeman was sent by the British Colonial Office to make a survey of the Fiji Islands, and report upon the possibilities of cotton culture there. The ensuing report was so favorable that before long many plantations were formed in the Fijis, and later in Queensland and in some of the islands of the New Hebrides.¹

These enterprises gave rise to an extraordinary demand for labor. In Australia sugar plantations added to the labor shortage. The native Australians were incapable of such work; white laborers were unobtainable in a new country. In Fiji the natives were too strong and warlike; their economic environment was so favorable that they could not be cajoled away. Hence plantation owners had to look to the less favored islands, and to less militant peoples for the much needed labor force. The earliest account of the labor trade indicates that it started in 1856 at Lifu where ten men were seized to be employed in cutting sandalwood. From this date it developed by leaps and bounds until the Home Government took action some eighteen years later.²

The South Sea Islanders, called Kanakas in Australia, proved themselves capable and intelligent, and especially suited for plantation work for they were strong and endured the tropical heat far better than the whites. Usually they contracted to stay on the plantation for three years, were paid £18, and obtained free passage both ways. As a rule they received good treatment on the English plantations, and many of those brought to Australia would afterwards settle in the land. They were

¹ Markham, A. H., "The Cruise of the 'Rosario'," pp. 46-7.

² Jung, Karl E., "Der Weltteil Australien," II, 197-9.

well liked by the plantation owners, but hated by the white workmen who looked upon them as competitors.³

The demand for labor, however, was so great that voluntary enlistment of laborers was impractical. Traders engaged solely in the business of furnishing Polynesians to the plantations, and the trade was so profitable that peaceful means of gaining workmen were soon given up. The trade partook of the nature of enforced slavery, and the methods recalled those of the African slave trade of a century or so earlier. Markham quotes from Dr. Murray, a notorious trader on trial in Sydney, "We went on to several islands, and captured the natives generally by breaking or upsetting their canoes, and by getting the natives out of the water into which they were plunged; we smashed the canoes by throwing pig-iron into them, and then seized the natives in the water; the captain and crew used to be chiefly engaged in throwing the weights into the canoes, and the passengers, in their own boat, used to pick the natives out of the water, sometimes hitting them over the head with clubs or slung shot, as they were at times very hard to get hold of. Each man had his appointed duty and place."⁴

Not all labor, however, was obtained by forcible kidnapping, but many other methods were employed which were equally reprehensible. For example, among many of the islands the decapitation of slain enemies was a common practice, the heads being exhibited as trophies of war, and measuring the social esteem and respect which a man received from his tribe. The anxiety to possess a large number of heads often worked out into contractual relations with white traders, whereby the latter contracted to furnish heads, and the former to give an equivalent in human beings for the labor plantation. Tribal mores would not permit the chief to use the heads of his own tribesmen, hence those of enemies were essential. Furthermore, this procedure satisfied the vanity of the chief and was less dangerous to him than waging warfare for heads. Markham describes the stratagem of the traders when procuring heads: "A low black brig arrived, and hove to off the island of Florida, one of the Solomon group. When a canoe came off to this vessel, she was persuaded to pass close under the stern; the stern boat was then *accidentally* lowered on the top of the canoe, thereby damaging it to such an extent that its occupants were thrown out into the water. Other boats were then lowered, apparently for the purpose of rescuing the unfortunate men; but directly they were seized, their heads were cut off, over the gunwale of the boat; the

³ Lumholtz, Carl, "Among Cannibals," p. 64.

⁴ Markham, A. H., "The Cruise of the 'Rosario,'" pp. 112-3.

instrument used for this purpose being a long knife. Having completed their diabolical work, the boats returned to the brig, which immediately proceeded on her way. . . . Some of these kidnappers go so far as to paint their vessels so as to resemble as much as possible the schooners employed by the different Missions."⁵

In the New Hebrides and the Solomons the labor recruiters were divided into two parties; one seeking laborers for Queensland and the other for Fiji. This gave rise to many complications as the traders, not satisfied with their own territory, often poached upon that of their rivals.

"When two ships met, the crews used to turn out on the beach and fight it out, while the natives looked on in amazement. They all felt it a personal matter, for every man in the crews had an interest in the venture; that is to say he would be paid a certain sum of money for every native he procured. . . .

"The natives, after a time, got into the habit of receiving one ship as friends and the other as enemies. But it was easy to overcome this difficulty. A ship going into a new place, and seeing no other ship there, would be uncertain whether the natives were friends of Queensland or Fiji. But they were prepared for either emergency. The natives would paddle out to meet them, and their first question would be, 'Where shippy come?' If a Fiji ship they would reply 'Fiji,' and if the natives took the side of Fiji it would be all right."

If not, the natives would paddle off as hard as they could. Thereupon the crew would put to sea at once rather than risk attack, and return in a couple of days, answering that they were from Queensland, and would get recruits without trouble.⁶

In addition to the pernicious results of head-hunting by white traders and the kidnapping of unwilling natives, the labor trade has reacted unfavorably upon the aborigines in many other ways. Muskets and ammunition were supplied by the traders to chiefs in exchange for laborers,⁷ and proved the means of fomenting constant intertribal warfare. Frequently the traders sided with one group or the other and gave material assistance much to their own profit. Often, too, the hostility of the natives and their occasional outbreaks against missionaries and other Europeans innocent of any harm done to the aborigines can be traced to the high-handed methods of the recruiters. Thus, while visiting the island of Nukapu, Bishop Patterson and his missionary party were suddenly attacked by the natives. This was evidently owing to the fact that a labor vessel had touched at the island a short time before, and that some

⁵Markham, A. H., "The Cruise of the 'Rosario,'" pp. 73-4.

⁶Romilly, H. H., "The Western Pacific and New Guinea," pp. 179-80.

⁷Markham, A. H., "The Cruise of the 'Rosario,'" p. 240.

outrage had been committed on the natives, who thereupon resolved to take summary revenge upon the first white men who fell into their hands.⁸ The "out-group," in this case the white race, must be held to account for the transgressions of any of its members, for that is required by native justice. In New Ireland contact has had anything but a favorable influence on the natives. The labor vessels have taken away some two thousand of their best men, a loss which, with a small population, was felt severely. Of the goods left behind by the labor ships in exchange for men, the muskets become useless with rust and neglect, glass beads and trade calico soon lose their charm and value; the New Irelanders thus find the net result of contact to be useless weapons and trade goods, and an irreparable loss of man power, with hostile neighbors threatening on account of their weakness.⁹

The evils produced by the labor trade resulted in the passage of the "Polynesian Labourers' Act" by the Queensland legislature in 1868 when it was shown to what extent the forcible removal of islanders had taken place, and that scarcely one-fifth had been returned. The act sought to provide for the registration of laborers, their proper support and maintenance, and the return to their homes at the expiration of their engagements. A later bill to prevent kidnapping was passed by the Home Government in 1872.¹⁰ These laws, however, were ineffective because of lack of supervision and easy means of evasion. The captain of the vessel would attempt to land returning laborers on barren or hostile islands, and they, not knowing their way home and fearing starvation or annihilation, would be forced to reëngage.¹¹ The same method was employed in the case of workers from the Fiji Islands. Those who were supposedly sent home to their islands never landed, and ere long were back on the plantations. This was made possible by keeping either no register or a very incomplete one as to the islands and towns from whence each native came. Consequently it was impossible to send them to their proper places and the natives, realizing this when it was too late, agreed to return to the plantations. Those who were incapacitated, either from old age or disease, and were not desired again, were merely thrown overboard some fifty yards from shore and had to swim to the beach, where they were probably put to death by hostile islanders.¹²

⁸ Markham, A. H., "The Cruise of the 'Rosario,'" p. 67.

⁹ Romilly, H. H., "The Western Pacific and New Guinea," pp. 39-40.

¹⁰ Markham, A. H., "The Cruise of the 'Rosario,'" pp. 48-9. See Appendix, pp. 363-4, for summary of law regarding recruiting in Papua; also French regulations in New Caledonia.

¹¹ Ratzel, Friedrich, "Völkerkunde," I, 160.

¹² Romilly, H. H., "The Western Pacific and New Guinea," pp. 188-9.

Although at the present time the Queensland traffic has disappeared, considerable recruiting still goes on to supply the English and French planters in Southern Melanesia. The English laws are more stringent than the French in that they do not permit the engagement of female labor for ordinary plantation workers. This causes a strong feeling on the part of the British, and many disregard the rule forbidding the employment of women workers. They do not recruit women by making them "sign on" while the vessel is lying off their island, but accept them as "passengers" and thus convey them to their plantations. Durrad mentions this as one of the potent causes of the dying out of the Melanesian race.¹³

Opinions differ as to the effect of the recruiting system in teaching the natives persistent steady labor. Some, seeing the beneficial effects on the Melanesians working in Queensland, have judged the system most desirable. Others, observing the worker after his return home, have been of a decidedly different opinion. There is a tendency to cast aside the veneer of civilization and to sink into the primitive state. But the native does bring back a certain feeling of superiority, swears in English on all occasions and exhibits some of the mores acquired from his former English associates, most of whom were of the worst type. Jung thinks the savage cannot be civilized through the labor system because he is snatched out of his own natural habitat and placed, unprepared, in an environment which is beyond his understanding.¹⁴

The results of the contact of the white man in the rôle of labor recruiter or plantation owner with the aborigines of the South Sea Islands certainly cannot be said to be of a very high order. The natives have lost considerably more than they have gained; they have been forced into a bondage from which there was no escape; they have been placed in a situation whereby the worst mores of the whites could be most easily acquired; their women have been introduced to heavy field labor, which has brought about as a result a lower birth rate and has contributed largely to the break-up of family life and custom.

¹³ Durrad, Rev. W. J., "The Depopulation of Melanesia," in "Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia" (ed. Rivers, W. H. R.), pp. 13-4.

¹⁴ Jung, Karl E., "Der Weltteil Australien," II, 202-3.

CHAPTER XVI

APPLICATION OF EUROPEAN LAW TO NATIVES

The most difficult problem created by the voluntary tutelage accepted by European powers over the Polynesians arises in regard to interference with native custom. The favorite method of the past consisted merely in superimposing the mores of the dominant group upon those of the subordinate people and enforcing them until they became part of the social fabric. But here we have social groups of the greatest dissimilarities, and a practical impossibility of reconciling an entire code of mores with one developed under entirely different conditions.

The practice of the British government has been quite consistent in non-interference with native custom. Such regulations as are made are confined principally to offenses of native life, particularly where Europeans are concerned, and to dealing with sanitary provisions, making of roads, and matters of like nature. In New Guinea various native customs such as polygamy are tacitly recognized, and in the case of serious offense the higher courts are prone to admit custom as a plea for mitigation of sentence.¹

With respect, however, to customs which are particularly obnoxious to our code of mores we find the greatest restraint brought to bear upon the backward peoples. The foremost customs of this nature as practised in Australasia and the Pacific Islands are cannibalism and head-hunting. All European powers in these regions have taken a firm stand in wiping out such habits, and have met with no little opposition from the natives. The reason is that these traditional customs are vitally connected with the religious and family mores of the tribe. As a result of interference the native has got the idea that he can practise only surreptitiously such of his habits and customs as are not in accord with European standards. Thus the Australians kept up cannibalism in secret for a long time after they had learned that it was taboo according to the white man's law.² In Southern Australia, however, the colonial courts took no cognizance

² Beaver, Wilfred N., "Unexplored New Guinea," p. 292.

¹ Lumholtz, Carl, "Among Cannibals," p. 72.

of acts committed by the aborigines *inter se*, and little pressure was brought to put a stop to anthropophagy.³

In the Solomon Islands the government prohibited head-hunting, without at all appreciating the important place it held in the religious and ceremonial life of the people, and without realizing the gap it would leave in their daily interests.⁴ Head-hunting had not only been an interesting sport, but was the aborigine's one means of proving his manhood and gaining his wife.⁵ Thus it is evident that this particular institution possessed many ramifications and that a sudden check would have an immediate effect in other spheres than the marital one. The loss of daily interests is reflected in the New Caledonians' grievance against the French government and against the missionaries, who have put a stop to cannibalism and head-hunting. "We are no longer men," they say, "since we do not fight."⁶ Williamson tells us that the prohibitions imposed upon the customs of the South Sea Islanders are scarcely submitted to with good grace to this day. "They resent the presence of the white man; and I am convinced that, if they had the power, they would not hesitate to clear off every one from their islands, and return to their customs of head-hunting, wholesale cannibalism and savagery, as of yore." A more optimistic impression is gained, however, from the fact that time and contact with foreigners have caused the natives to question some of their own customs. For instance, in reference to head-hunting one of the chiefs said to Mr. Carne, Wesleyan Missionary in Samoa, "Misi Kane, we have just been puzzling ourselves to guess where the custom came from. But Misi, is it not so that when David killed Goliath, he cut off his head and carried it before the king?"⁷

The survival of native customs which require the killing of human beings makes it extremely difficult for the European authorities to enforce the law against murder. In many cases murder is committed from motives of vanity. In New Guinea there are certain feathers which none but homicides are permitted to wear and these decorations are objects of ambition for every aspiring youth of the village. It does not matter who is killed, or how, a defenseless babe serving the purpose as well as a courageous man in a hand-to-hand fight. The girls urge their suitors on

³ Byrne, J. C., "Twelve Years in the British Colonies," II, 278.

⁴ Rivers, W. H. R., "The Psychological Factor," in "Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia" (ed. Rivers, W. H. R.), p. 93.

⁵ Im Thurn, E. F., in Preface to "Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia" (ed. Rivers, W. H. R.), p. xvi.

⁶ Letourneau, Ch., "Sociology," p. 189.

⁷ Williamson, Robert W., "The Ways of the South Sea Savage," p. 18.

⁸ Stevenson, R. L., "A Footnote to History," p. 10.

to such deeds by spurning the advances of those who have not earned the distinctive honor of homicide. Occasionally this fact is brought forth by the accused in seeking mitigation of sentence. In Port Moresby custom demanded that a man who built a new house must paint the posts with *paila*, a mixture of cocoanut oil and red clay, but custom further prohibited the use of *paila* unless a man had been killed to celebrate the building of the house.⁹

In some cases, however, where European law offers adequate compensation for the abridgment of native custom, it has been quite successful. For instance, the natives of New Guinea used to punish adultery with a married woman by private revenge, which customarily resulted in the death of both the wife and the guilty man at the hands of the irate husband. The wife was his chattel; the adulterer had stolen his property. Says Murray, "It speaks well for the law-abiding Papuan that, since punishment by imprisonment has been substituted for the 'unwritten law' of revenge, there have been few instances in which the husband has killed his wife or her lover." In regard to adultery, native custom has been directly recognized by the legislature, while in other cases it indirectly plays an important part with respect to the sentence imposed.¹⁰

European-made law faces one of the most difficult obstacles when the attempt is made to apply the same standards of property rights to aboriginal races as to Europeans. This is particularly true with regard to property rights in land. The natives in some parts recognize an inchoate tribal or group ownership,¹¹ as at Endeavor Bay, where the Australians claimed the turtles which Banks' men had caught on the reef—it was their reef and therefore its turtles belonged to them.¹² In other places private property in land exists, but with such bewildering limitations upon that right that it becomes very difficult for our laws to cope with the situation. Thus among the Mafulu an individual owns his village house, but not the site of the house which continues to be the property of the village. Every grown-up male inhabitant has the right to build one house in the village and no more, but he may have a house in each of several different villages. If a house falls to ruin or is pulled down, any person may build upon the site. Bush land, all trees and growth thereon represent private property and no one can enter and cut down another person's trees. But fish and

⁹ Murray, J. H. P., "Papua or British New Guinea," pp. 210, 211.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

¹¹ Ratzel, Friedrich, "Völkerkunde," I, 346.

¹² Wood, G. Arnold, "The Discovery of Australia," p. 434.

game on the land are common property, and any one may trespass for the purpose of hunting or fishing.¹³

Yet another difficulty occurs when the law attempts to reduce native rights to a system in conformity with our own. As Thomson says,

"Chiefs who were landlords were, at a stroke of the pen, given the right to exact personal *lala*¹⁴ from tribes who were not their tenants; and throughout quite half the group, the right to personal *lala* was conferred upon chiefs who were not landlords at all, and had no claim to it whatever. Confusion became worse confounded when the hereditary chiefs were expelled from office for misconduct, and persons of inferior rank were appointed to succeed not only to their official duties, but to their private rights to personal *lala*. Had the question been understood it would have been easy to frame a regulation of limiting the exercise of personal *lala* to those chiefs entitled to it by ancient usage, allowing each disputed case to be decided on its merits, and to limit the holders of government offices of *Roko Tui* and *Mbuli* to *lala* for communal purposes."¹⁵

In Samoa the Germans seem to have avoided many of these difficulties by giving the natives a system of home rule under which they were supposed to have the management of their lands.¹⁶

Certain native taboos oftentimes create property rights in the eye of primitive man which are scarcely comprehensible to the European. For instance, a New Zealander when at the home of a white man might ask for a drink of water; the host, understanding nothing of native custom, would hand him some water in a glass; the native would drink the water and gravely break the glass, or otherwise appropriate it to himself. The white man would naturally fly into a rage at the native's impudence, and the latter would not understand the reason for the white man's anger, because certainly the glass must have been worthless or else the white would not have let him put it to his head, the part most strongly infected by the tapu; his personality had entered the object which was thereby rendered useless to any one else.¹⁷

Customs such as those of making presents and gifts may have the effect of perverting justice when our laws are strictly applied, as in the case of the English law with respect to stolen property. Thus in Australia the savages make gifts from one to another of European clothing or other articles they may acquire. Such goods often pass in a very short time

¹³ Williamson, Robert W., "The Ways of the South Sea Savage," p. 220. Also see Codrington, R. H., "The Melanesians, Their Anthropology and Folklore," p. 61.

¹⁴ *Supra*, p. 150.

¹⁵ Thomson, Basil, "The Fijians," p. 72.

¹⁶ Grey, J. Grattan, "Australasia, Old and New," pp. 379-80.

¹⁷ A Pakeha Maori (ed. Earl of Pembroke), "Old New Zealand," p. 99.

through the hands of a number of individuals, perhaps even through three or four tribes. Hence it is clear that evidence to the effect that stolen goods were found in the possession of a native should not be given much weight.¹⁸

Contrary to the attitude of modern jurisprudence, native law in the Pacific region invariably makes the group responsible rather than the individual offender. This seems to represent an evolutionary stage quite analogous to that in early England which recognized group responsibility. The result is that the whites as a group, whether guilty or not, have been forced to suffer the consequences of the evil acts of certain of their members. Jacomb mentions that in July, 1916, Mr. Bridges, a British resident, and a number of half-caste children were killed on the coast of the island of Malekula. Police inquiry revealed the fact that the motive was revenge on the white man for the kidnapping of certain natives of the village who had never returned, and had presumably perished on some plantation. From the Kanaka viewpoint this was strict justice; an injury had been done by the white man's tribe to the native tribe, and as the former had not offered to bring the offenders to justice, nor to return the victims, nor to pay compensation, and as the government of the white man's tribe tacitly acquiesced in the injury done to the native tribe, the slayers considered it was their duty to avenge the wrong.¹⁹ Markham expresses the same idea when he states that after an injury has been committed by a European, the first white man that comes within the natives' reach must suffer retaliation, though he has had no connection with the crime.²⁰ The same holds true in the Tonga Islands.²¹ In New Zealand the law of *murū*, which likewise places the guilt upon the group, has resulted in many apparently unprovoked attacks upon the white settlers.²²

To adopt this same custom in dealing with native groups has generally proved more efficacious than to punish the individual transgressor who seldom can be located. In Otaheite, Beechey found that to seize one of the natives or something that was of more value to them than the goods they had stolen was the only effectual way of recovering what was lost.²³

This is the idea at the root of the punitive expedition. "It is very difficult and dangerous to send policemen into the centre of Malekula to

¹⁸ Eyre, E. J., "Central Australia," II, 199.

¹⁹ Jacomb, Edw., "The Future of the Kanaka," pp. 124-5.

²⁰ Markham, A. H., "The Cruise of the 'Rosario'," p. 98.

²¹ Martin, John, "The Tonga Islands," I, 69.

²² A Pakcha Maori (ed. Earl of Pembroke), "Old New Zealand," p. 90.

²³ Beechey, Capt. F. W., "Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait," p. 108.

find out or arrest the individuals responsible for an offense of any nature. It is much easier to exact indiscriminate vengeance and so cow the native mind against repetitions of the incident. This is the line of least resistance, and affords the most spectacular results."²⁴ The villages on the island of Aurora were destroyed by the English as a chastisement for an assault upon a white man. The theory was that in this manner the natives could be brought to punish the real culprit when they saw their own villages in ruin as a consequence of his act.²⁵

The feeling that punishment meted out according to European law is inadequate is frequently the cause of the natives refusing to be governed by our laws except under pressure. Sorcery, by way of illustration, is a very serious offense as judged by native mores in New Guinea. In the magistrates' court it is punishable by a six months' imprisonment at the most, and in rare instances is dealt with under the criminal code. The penalty may act to a certain extent as a deterrent, but it is quite insufficient as a substitute for private vengeance. There have been cases where the villagers have killed a sorcerer and then given themselves up to the police, saying that the governmental penalty was not severe enough, and that they had determined to inflict an adequate punishment. To the Papuan sorcery is a real crime and must be dealt with accordingly; to the European it is only an imaginary offense and long imprisonment or death seem unreasonably severe penalties. Likewise the Papuans living in the settled communities complain that the English do not afford them sufficient protection from wandering tribes. "In the old days," they say, "we would have taken vengeance upon these people and paid back life for life; you will not allow us to do this, and when you do catch the murderers you only punish them with a few years' imprisonment instead of making them pay for the lives they have taken." On the other hand the raiders who are not under direct supervision have only carried out the immemorial custom of the tribe, and probably have no idea that their action is anything other than praiseworthy. If the English were to inflict capital punishment upon them, it would become almost impossible to establish future friendly relations, whereas a released prisoner is always a useful envoy and may create a strong feeling in favor of the government.²⁶

One phase of law enforcement which invariably leads to trouble occurs when a native police force recruited from a hostile region is stationed in a community to maintain law and order. Such was the case in Queensland

²⁴ Jacomb, Edw., "The Future of the Kanaka," pp. 125-6.

²⁵ Markham, A. H., "The Cruise of the 'Rosario,'" pp. 200-4.

²⁶ Murray, J. H. F., "Papua or British New Guinea," pp. 203, 235-6.

where the government recruited native police, and stationed them in other parts of the country where the natives appeared to be dangerous. When the natives killed a white man the police were ready with summary punishment; when the natives preyed upon the cattle of a squatter he notified the police that the blacks should be "dispersed," which signified nothing other than shooting down the natives in the vicinity.²⁷

Justice for the aborigines seems to be of an entirely different stamp than that for white men if we may judge from cases brought before the magistrates' courts. When Australians commit an offense against Europeans, if caught, the punishment is certain and severe. At the time Eyre was writing six natives in South Australia had been tried and hanged, and many others shot or wounded for offenses against Europeans, but during the same interval no white man had paid the penalty of the law for aggressions upon the aborigines, though our informant states many had deserved to do so.²⁸ "Another evil is the very extraordinary position in which they are placed with regard to two distinct sets of laws; that is, they are allowed to exercise their own laws upon one another, and are again held amenable to British law where British subjects are concerned." Thus no protection is afforded them by the British law against the violence or cruelty of one of their own race, and the law has hitherto been known to them only as a means of punishment, but never as a code from which they can claim protection or benefit.²⁹

In the New Hebrides the government affords the native practically no protection. This is particularly true where French dominance is prevalent. No matter how bad the conditions are on the plantations the native has no opportunity of complaint. He cannot reach the government and the government makes little effort to reach him, as there is practically no inspection of plantations. Furthermore, no official in the New Hebrides speaks any native language, and few French officials can speak even pidgin-English. If the native does succeed in complaining to a representative of the French government, he is usually punished for telling false tales against his master; if he complains to any other than a French official he is punished for being "absent without leave."³⁰

Wherever native and white interests come into conflict, as in the case of alleged murder, it is just as hard to secure the acquittal of a native as it is to secure the conviction of a white man. As in New Guinea the

²⁷ Lumholtz, Carl, "Among Cannibals," pp. 46-7, 54.

²⁸ Eyre, E. J., "Central Australia," II, 185.

²⁹ Grey, George, "Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery in Northwest and Western Australia," II, 368-9.

³⁰ Jacomb, Edw., "The Future of the Kanaka," pp. 110-1.

prisoner has not the faintest conception of pleading, and is eager to tell the court all about the affair from start to finish. Murray found it the best plan, if there was the slightest doubt of a man's guilt, to enter a plea of "not guilty" for him, otherwise, if left to himself the poor wretch would inculcate himself beyond all hope of acquittal.³¹ At the same time, if a white man is concerned, the judges are always swayed by the questions as to who the defendant is, and who is the plaintiff, and what the white public thinks of the case; facts are always capable of being interpreted in different ways, and it is always easy to mistrust the word of a native, and always difficult to doubt that of a white man.³²

It is interesting to note at this point that, where European law is unable to extend protection to white men against the natives, an appeal to the superstition of the savage may have the desired effect. Thus we are informed that a settler residing in a dangerous part of Australia, together with two soldiers, was attacked by the natives. They succeeded in killing five of their assailants and afterwards buried the Australians before the door. No more perfect safeguard could have been devised, for the natives have a superstitious horror of approaching the graves of the dead; not even a thought of revenge could induce any of the tribe to pass that fearful boundary.³³

In summing up the consequences of the forcible application of European law to the natives of Australasia and Polynesia, it is evident that the aborigines have been on the losing side. Contact has resulted in direct interference with native customs which are deeply rooted in family and societal life. The ethnocentric feeling and the economic convenience of the white man demand the setting up of his own recognized forms of property, individual rather than collective responsibility, and other customs. As a result the aborigines have virtually been compelled to abandon a code which was best suited to conditions of life peculiar to them, and to accept a legal and moral code developed by an entirely different ethnic stock living under dissimilar life conditions. They are forced to bridge the gap between their native culture and that of western civilization long before the economic changes, which would make the latter a necessary adjustment, have arisen.

³¹ Murray, J. H. P., "Papua or British New Guinea," p. 226.

³² Jacomb, Edw., "The Future of the Kanaka," pp. 121-2.

³³ Stokes, J. L., "Discoveries in Australia," I, 60.

CHAPTER XVII

THE EFFECT OF CONTACT ON NATIVE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

From both the social and the economic standpoint considerable attention must be given to the effect of contact upon native governmental organization. It is an open question whether civilization can be attained more rapidly and with a greater advantage to the backward race by a complete overthrow of its governmental organization and the substitution of detailed regulation by the European powers, or whether it is better to maintain as far as possible the old native organization and let reforms come as normal adjustments to a changing social environment. Unfortunately, however, commercial reasons have made it impossible in the past to pursue the latter method. The early settlers and plantation owners were never so deeply interested in the spread of civilization to the aborigines as in the utilization of their services, clearing them off the land as in New Zealand, Tasmania, and other places, or profiting from unregulated trade with the untutored savage.

The breakdown of native governmental organization most frequently comes about as a result of direct intervention by the white races, and the desire to set up an organization which will be subservient to them, whether native or not. Samoa offers a good example of this; there the Germans were accustomed to use any pretext to unseat rulers who were inimical to them, and to force upon the people kings of their own selection. The proposed convention with the natives made by the German firm at Samoa shows a typical method of destroying native authority. This agreement provided for a council of two Germans and two Samoans who were to be invested with the right to make laws and impose taxes as might be "desirable for the common interest of the Samoan Government and the German residents." The king and vice-king were to sign the document blindfold, and the Samoans were to be bound by the agreement in perpetuity, whereas the Germans reserved for themselves the right to withdraw on six months' notice. The Samoans were denied a copy of the covenant, were threatened, and their deliberation treated as contumacy, while two German warships lay in port.¹ Wherever

¹ Stevenson, R. L., "A Footnote to History," p. 46.

the attempt has been made to force the views of the western world upon races by compulsion, precept, or example, whether intentionally or not, the old regulative system has been broken down.²

A number of other causes have been potent in weakening native organization. Quite common in many sections has been the intermarriage of white men with native women and the importance which such men have attained in the community. Being of the white race and feeling their own superiority, they would not be bound by native superstitions and were prone to resist native control and regulation. The Pakeha-Maoris (white men settled among the aborigines) exercised an undue influence over the Maori people which was anything but conducive to the true interests of the natives. The latter became more and more demoralized by these adventurers, were taught to drink and to gamble and were taken advantage of in every way.³ Many of the older generation of New Zealanders complained that the increasing wants of the younger generation had subverted the authority of the chiefs to the mightier influence of the stranger's gold. They said that trade had sapped the foundation of their ancient and warlike independence.⁴

Another reason is that the European governments have steadfastly shorn the native organization of its old power, and at the same time failed to replace the decadent regulations with new ones. "We have never troubled to explain our system of life and Government to them, but have been content to let things drift and shape their own course. To give a specific example: In the New Hebrides, criminal law was of course originally administered by the Chiefs. When the Government came in it refused to allow the Chiefs to hold Courts any longer, and yet it has not even set up a Court or given a criminal code for use in inter-native offenses.⁵ If, therefore, a crime is committed in a village, both Chief and Government are helpless. The offender remains unpunished, and the Chief is recognized for what he is—a shadow." Where codes are promulgated it is usual to find that they are simply reenactments of our own laws without any reference to local requirements.⁶

In Australia, where native governmental organization scarcely existed other than the influence exerted by the older and more experienced men

² Speiser, Dr. Felix, "Decadence and Preservation in the New Hebrides," in "Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia" (ed. Rivers, W. H. R.), p. 34.

³ Grey, J. Grattan, "Australasia, Old and New," p. 239.

⁴ Jameson, R. G., "New Zealand, South Australia and New South Wales," p. 235.

⁵ ("Since I wrote this passage a Joint Regulation has been passed giving criminal jurisdiction over certain inter-native offenses to the Joint Court." Edw. Jacomb.)

⁶ Jacomb, Edw., "The Future of the Kanaka," pp. 62-3.

of the tribe, the settlers tried to establish some method of control for their own benefit. A squatter would appoint the best native near his station a "King" and would give him a piece of brass with his name on it to wear as a badge of his position. The "King's" duties were to watch his tribe and keep them from damaging the white man's property. In return for these services the squatter gave him food, tobacco, blankets and the like.⁷

Even without direct intervention on the part of European governments, the chiefs have been unable to maintain their old power. In former days the chiefs in the New Hebrides were both respected and feared because of their supposed supernatural powers. When the white man came he scarcely distinguished between the chief and his people; he never respected the chief or feared his unseen powers. The whites paid no attention to old and sacred ceremonies and customs, and degraded existing social institutions (the Suge and Quat native "clubs"). Native charms had no effect upon the white man; he entered with impunity the most holy places, was present at the most awful ceremonies, handled the most sacred objects and always came out unscathed.⁸ The missionaries have played a not insignificant rôle in the destruction of the secret society. In the Banks Islands the institution had been gradually declining until "At length the sacred precincts were explored, bull-roarers became the playthings of the boys and the old men sat down and wept over the profanation and their loss of power and privilege." The old shrines fell to ruin under the advances of Christianity.⁹ In New Guinea the old forms of native organization are disintegrating under modern influences. This tendency has gone so far that even the totem laws are no longer strictly observed, and, as long as no untoward consequences result, little consideration is given to a breach of them.¹⁰

Indirectly the recruiting system played its part in destroying native organization. The returned laborers who had seen something of the world imagined themselves superior to those who had stayed home. Young men could now procure high rank by purchasing with the money earned by their labor on the plantations of Fiji and Queensland the valuable tusked pigs; thus they came to fill positions formerly occupied only by old men after a long life of shrewdness and intrigue. The old "caste" system

⁷ Lumholtz, Carl, "Among Cannibals," p. 336.

⁸ Speiser, Dr. Felix, "Decadence and Preservation in the New Hebrides," in "Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia" (ed. Rivers, W. H. R.), pp. 37-8.

⁹ Codrington, R. H., "The Melanesians, Their Anthropology and Folklore," pp. 99-100, 126.

¹⁰ Murray, J. H. P., "Papua or British New Guinea," pp. 120-1.

which permitted only men of strong personality and character to occupy the chieftainship disappeared. In the old days the chiefs controlled the affairs of their districts, maintained law and order and in a modest way administered justice, but now all was changed. "With their downfall, young hot-headed youths came into power; and instead of aiming at the preservation of the tribe, each strove for the place of the ousted chief, with a natural increase in lawlessness, feuds, and murder, which increase was unfortunately enhanced by the simultaneous introduction of firearms. Whilst formerly war was discussed by the assembly of the men, and the strength of the tribe was carefully estimated, now the individual did not hesitate to involve the whole village in his own affairs and make it responsible for his misdeeds. The villagers had perforce to take sides, family ties were broken, and the people began to split off into the small hamlets observable to-day. These small bodies of natives are demoralized and dejected."¹¹ In the Loyalty Islands where the chief still retains some of his power, it is noticeable that royal prerogatives are of diminishing importance.¹²

The wholesale destruction and breakdown of native governmental organization has quite naturally resulted in a reign of anarchy. If the native looks to the white man for a solution, he sees the traders and plantation owners rolling in a luxury way beyond the ambition of native kings, he hears the whites accuse one another of the meanest trickery, and he knows some of them are guilty.¹³ He is conscious of his own impotence, and the only thing left to do is to let matters drift along and take their course. The substitution of modern forms of government, as in Tahiti under Pomarree II, seldom produced a good effect. Beechey, who visited the country some years after a parliamentary type of government had been established, noted that the people were neglecting many industries which had once flourished, that there appeared no desire on the part of the aborigines to improve their condition and that the people had lost much of their former skill in the manufacture and use of weapons.¹⁴

Wherever the chief's power is dependent upon magic and the performance of religious rites, it seems that his power and influence are soon broken down under the assaults of the missionaries and the indifference of the whites, which shortly produce skepticism and disbelief in the supernatural character of the chief. Thus with European contact we might

¹¹ Speiser, Dr. Felix, "Decadence and Preservation in the New Hebrides," in "Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia" (ed. Rivers, W. H. R.), pp. 39-40.

¹² Hadfield, E., "Among the Natives of the Loyalty Group," pp. 31-3.

¹³ Stevenson, R. L., "A Footnote to History," pp. 27-8.

¹⁴ Beechey, Capt. F. W., "Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait," p. 194.

expect the greatest instability of native power where the chiefship is elective according to the personal qualities of the man, and the greatest stability in cases of hereditary office. That this is so may be shown in Tanna where the chief's tenure of office was not dependent on knowledge of magic and religion, but hereditary. The missionaries had no religious grounds on which to attack or dethrone such a man, and in the event of his conversion he would not lose his office. The result of contact in such cases has been that anarchy did not follow, but tribal organization under the chief continued as before with recognition of the chief's authority by all.¹⁵ Likewise in the Sandwich Islands, Tahiti, and other places, we do not find the same rapid political disintegration where there exist hereditary chiefs as we observe where the headship is elective.

The conflict of European mores with those of aboriginal races, particularly in regard to marriage and the family, has led to unforeseen and unexpected results in the native social organization. In this sphere of life the backward races have been regulated by customs which had acquired through countless generations a character of fixity and rigidity. These domestic arrangements were not limited in scope, but had ramifications extending to every phase of life, religious, political, economic and social. Acts, which to us are moral and proper, may be to the savage the most heinous of crimes. Whereas in our marriage system the union of first cousins is legitimate, under the system of exogamy prevailing among most of the native peoples of the Pacific regions it is highly incestuous. To substitute our system for theirs, as the tendency has been, cannot but have a deplorable effect upon the morals of the people; it means a relaxation of the moral code which, spreading in all directions, must eventually corrupt and disintegrate the group. This process has usually been facilitated by life on the plantation as, for instance, on French estates where immorality is often deliberately fostered by the owner on the theory that a laborer is more likely to be contented if he is provided with a temporary "wife."¹⁶

Whatever good the fusion of the white race with the colored races of Polynesia and Australasia may entail, that fact does not stand to prove that a beneficial effect is produced upon the morals of the people, at least for the first generation or so of contact. In Australia the majority of such mixed unions were with the more depraved elements of convicts sent out from England to the penal colony, and who had succeeded in escaping

¹⁵ Speiser, Dr. Felix, "Decadence and Preservation in the New Hebrides," in "Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia" (ed. Rivers, W. H. R.), p. 51.

¹⁶ Jacomb, Edw., "The Future of the Kanaka," pp. 64, 112.

into the bush. And besides, the predominance of the male sex among the deportees favored such connections.¹⁷

Grey observes that longevity is not a characteristic of the half-caste race ensuing from European-Maori marriages. He also mentions a tendency on the part of Maori women who have married Europeans, often of good station in life, to revert to their old habits and customs and sometimes, even after having reared a family, to go back to their tribes after years of absence. Nothing could induce these women to return to civilized modes of life. Grey does not seem to think such marriages productive of good in any respect.¹⁸

The majority of cases of miscegenation in New Zealand, however, occurred with the whalers. Generally these men possessed native wives from the best families, as from the native viewpoint such marriages added strength to the tribe and were the means of gratifying many needs. An agreement was made whereby the girl promised fidelity, to rise before the sun and prepare the whaler's food, to wash the house, mend the clothes, dispense hospitality in his absence and have supper ready on his return. For his part the whaler obligated himself to dress his wife in a "round about," treat her kindly, give a portion of his earnings to her relatives and support the interests of her tribe. Such relations with the whalers, contrary to the general rule, did not seem to produce any demoralizing effect upon the people, probably by reason of the fact that the whalers never attempted to interfere with or abrogate local marital and family customs.¹⁹ From the same class of men as the whalers we have the Pakeha Maoris, a term which signifies strangers turned into natives. These men were coasting traders who proceeded into the interior and lived there for several weeks with native wives while procuring a cargo of flax. Many of them settled in the interior becoming middlemen between the natives and coast traders. Their influence certainly was not of the best from a moral viewpoint. The sale of liquor, the theft of native lands and the wholesale impositions practised upon the Maoris by these men had a most unfortunate effect upon family and tribal life.²⁰

Contact occurring between Europeans of the better type and natives has likewise produced adverse results upon family life. The chief trouble here ensues from the conscientious desire to "civilize" the savage. Now the degree of civilization of an aboriginal race from the viewpoint of our

¹⁷Howison, John, "Views of the Colonies," I, 284-5. Jung, Karl E., "Der Weltteil Australien," I, 89-90.

¹⁸Grey, J. Grattan, "Australasia, Old and New," pp. 260-1.

¹⁹Thomson, A. S., "New Zealand," I, 293-4, 297, 299.

²⁰Grey, J. Grattan, "Australasia, Old and New," p. 239.

society is determined by the degree of conformity existing between our mores and those of the other group. Hence the obvious method of "civilizing" other races consists in superimposing our mores and customs together with our mode of thinking upon alien peoples. The natural consequence is that missionaries and government agents have invariably attempted to inculcate family life on the European plan without considering the probable effects upon native life, nor waiting patiently till conditions should make the time ripe for such an adaptation on the part of the natives themselves.

The Wesleyan missionaries in Fiji prohibited haircutting and hair-dressing by persons of the opposite sex, as well as the old swimming games. But, on the other hand, they introduced certain church festivals which innocently tended toward immorality. Of these the dances of school children might be mentioned, which bring together the young people of several villages. Such gatherings are made the occasion for dissoluteness as soon as the native teachers' backs are turned. Intertribal peace and the possession of boats to make travel and communication easy have also had an injurious effect upon family life.

The old *mbure* system, which compelled the separation of the sexes in different houses, seemed entirely out of tune with European mores. The early missionaries endeavored to supplant this ancient custom, which absolutely prohibited sexual license, by our own which merely forbids sexual irregularities. "The *mbure-ni-sa* was generally deserted by all but the old men; the youths went to sleep in their parents' houses, and, when once the novel idea of unmarried men sleeping in the same house with women had been digested, the other houses of the village were open to them. Association of the sexes and emancipation from parental control did the rest." The old Fijian mores had developed from purely practical considerations. Women were chattels and a virgin found a better price on the market than a girl who had been licentious; an illegitimate child was a burden on the mother's parents. Furthermore, incontinence was an infringement of the marriage law which provided each woman with her proper partner and maintained the equilibrium of exchange of women with the intermarrying tribe.²¹

Under the old system in Fiji and elsewhere an incestuous person who violated the native moral code would have quickly suffered death, but with the introduction of Christianity that terror of punishment is removed and he is left to follow his evil ways. Missionaries are limited to spiritual

²¹ Thomson, Basil, "The Fijians," pp. 24, 236-7. Rivers, W. H. R., "The Psychological Factor," in "Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia" (ed. Rivers, W. H. R.), p. 93.

control, which among savage peoples without some measure of coercion at the start is impotent, and governments refuse to interfere in social affairs. The result is increasing promiscuity.²² But, on the other hand, European mores have been conducive to greater strictness for married women. This may be attributed to the fact that adultery, being branded as a crime by the missions and punishable by law, is made the public concern of every individual to bring the offender to justice.

Thomson is inclined to the belief that contact, having eased the struggle of native group competing against native group, has caused less attention to be given to children. In the olden days a tribe of neglectful parents would be wiped out; to-day a tribe has no interest in being numerous except the fear of losing communal land, but this fear is mitigated because the land may be leased and the rent money will go farther among few than among many. The government protects parents in their old age; they are not dependent on children for support as frequently happens in civilized communities. Furthermore, deferred marriages are becoming the rule rather than the exception and naturally a lower birth rate ensues. When the bride price was paid in native manufactures, almost every man could raise the wherewithal; later the fashion was to demand knives, calico and other commodities for which money was requisite, and the unhappy man had to defer marriage until he could accumulate the price. This indirectly contributed to greater immorality.²³

Bearing in mind, then, the gradual acquisition of European mores and customs by the natives of Australasia and Polynesia, especially by the younger generation which refuses to be bound by the ways of the ancestors, the limitation of the chief's power by European intervention and by the declining reverence for his priestly qualities, it is no wonder that the dissolution of the native political organization is inevitable. Furthermore, the manifold interrelations which these destructive forces have in the family and social affairs of the aborigines, combined with such factors as missionary influence, interference with social practices and intermarriage with members of the advanced races, foreshadow the rapid disintegration of the old forms of native family and social life. Custom, which in the primitive society represented a tremendous power for social control and was virtually self-enforcing,²⁴ ceases to be of any practical import during this momentous period of flux and conflict.

²² Durrad, Rev. W. J., "The Depopulation of Melanesia," in "Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia" (ed. Rivers, W. H. R.), p. 12.

²³ Thomson, Basil, "The Fijians," pp. 204, 231, 239.

²⁴ Ross, E. A., "Social Control," p. 184.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE EFFECTS OF MISSIONARY CONTACT

Aside from the commercial enterpriser no representative of western civilization has had a greater opportunity to enter into the intimate life of the aborigines than the missionary. That he has not done so, and that his influence has been of lesser import to the natives than that of the trader rests entirely upon the different method of approach employed. The merchant is in the field solely for economic gain; he is not concerned with tribal affairs and is interested only in those practical matters of creating a demand for his wares and supplying the natives with them in exchange for the natural products which they have to offer. He finds it good business policy to put himself in harmony with the aborigines, to be tolerant of native custom and to avoid friction wherever possible.

Quite different is the attitude of the average missionary. He enters the field with a given stock of mores acquired in his native environment, which include most firmly fixed notions about religion; between these mores and the settled convictions of the primitive peoples there exists a sharp opposition. It is this early acquired block of mores and notions which makes it difficult for the missionary to place himself within the understanding of the people, and for him to grasp the true concept of their views. In course of time a fusion may take place and a common understanding arise. However, considering the fact that most of the missionary's points of contact are with the young, who do not themselves know and understand much of what their elders believe and practise, his viewpoint is apt to be somewhat distorted. The converted native is prone to blacken his own former state and zealously condemn the existing practices of the tribe. Many things the convert thinks ought to be considered wrong merely because they are associated with his former pagan ways, and thus condemnation may fall upon certain practices which possess no inherent evil in themselves.¹

On the other hand, the natives are apt to resent what they feel an encroachment upon their liberty, and the indiscriminate condemnation of

¹ Codrington, R. H., "The Melanesians, Their Anthropology and Folklore," pp. 116-7.

their time-honored institutions by missionary and converts. Their notions, also, are quite certain to be automorphic and the missionary will be looked upon in the same light as their own medicine men. Prayers and ritual can easily be linked up with incantations and magic. The Erromangans regarded Christian missionaries as sacred men possessed of great power as disease-makers. A native named Nerimpou lost two children to whom Mr. Gordon, the missionary, had given medicine in an effort to cure them. The unfortunate missionary was immediately accused of killing them by magic; he was murdered soon after.²

The spread of European mores through missionary efforts depends upon the pertinacity with which the backward races hold to their old customs and mores. In Australia Marsden's mission fell through because, no matter how well the children were cared for and instructed, the appeal of the forest and the carefree existence of their wandering life soon lured them away.³ In New South Wales Mr. Threlkeld found the same state of affairs. None of the aborigines could be induced to adopt European customs permanently and give up their wandering life to cultivate the soil. Contact did not induce the acceptance of beneficial practices set before them.⁴

The New Zealanders, although nominally accepting Christianity, when suffering under sickness frequently appeal to their old gods for health. Healthy Christians are just as fearful of violating the taboo as the non-converted, lest the pagan gods should punish them with some affliction.⁵ The Kanaka understands very little of the spirit underlying the forms of Christian faith. "To him it is only a new and mysterious tabu which he receives as the great thing which makes the white man powerful." Thomas quotes a native teacher in New Britain, "See what the *lotu* [Christianity] has done for us; we have a big ship come and visit us, and bring us cloth and beads. Mr. Brown has a big house, and is a powerful chief; all this has been given us; then how good a thing *lotu* is."⁶ Religious books were regarded very much in the same light as household gods by the Tahitians. During a local disturbance some deposited their religious books in the mission, saying that they cared nothing about their lives and property so long as the sacred volume, which could be replaced at any time for a bamboo of oil, was in safety.⁷ Christian Hawaiians

² Markham, A. H., "The Cruise of the 'Rosario,'" p. 218.

³ Jung, Karl E., "Der Weltteil Australien," I, 144-7.

⁴ Eyre, E. J., "Central Australia," II, 420-1.

⁵ Thomson, A. S., "New Zealand," I, 317-8.

⁶ Thomas, Julian, "Cannibals and Convicts," p. 21.

⁷ Beechey, Capt. F. W., "Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait," p. 195.

perform a ceremony called *pahi*, apparently a survival of a rite practised by their ancestors, but in a modified form. They offer a prayer to God and then slip a coin into the Bible at any chance place. The book is then opened and the text nearest to which the coin lies is consulted. If the text appears favorable the prayer is granted, otherwise the petitioner must begin all over again.⁸

The attempts of various missionaries to inculcate European mores in the aborigines have led in many cases to disastrous consequences. Perhaps none have produced such serious results as the stand so frequently taken in regard to clothing, even making it a condition of baptism.⁹ The Condominium government has followed the same lead, providing that an employer must furnish each of his workmen with two or three suits of clothes a year, which has brought forth the idea among natives that they must wear clothes if they are hired to work.¹⁰ In such ways the unsanitary and unhealthful conditions described in a previous chapter¹¹ have unintentionally been produced and perpetuated.

Where the acceptance of new religious mores was not regarded as degrading and where some material benefits were looked for by the aborigines, Christianity was enabled to make more rapid headway. Thus it was in New Zealand where the people had a passionate, instinctive love for novelty, and were not adverse to the substitution of new customs for old. Parents were surprised to find that children educated at the mission schools acquired the art of writing words which similarly educated children could comprehend. All were anxious to possess this magic power and crowded to school where Christianity was revealed to their minds by learning to read from religious books. The comfortable position of the missionaries led the people to conclude that the God of the missionaries was a better God than their own, because He gave them bread, clothes and good houses.¹²

As suggested above, what the native peoples desire is a practical religion, one which can be used to further their own daily interests. They are not able to comprehend the purely spiritual motives in Christianity for such never existed in their own forms of worship. In the first fever of excitement conversion became a fashion in New Zealand and churches

⁸ Green, L. C., and Beckwith M. W., "Hawaiian Customs and Beliefs," in *American Anthropologist*, vol. XXVIII (N. S.), 1926, p. 203.

⁹ Im Thurn, E. F., in Preface to "Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia" (ed. Rivers, W. H. R.), p. xvi.

¹⁰ Durrad, Rev. W. J., "The Depopulation of Melanesia," in "Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia" (ed. Rivers, W. H. R.), p. 10.

¹¹ *Supra*, pp. 154-5.

¹² Thomson, A. S., "New Zealand," I, 315.

were erected in every part of the country. A generation or so later these same churches were falling in ruin; Christianity had not ensured victory to Maori arms; its weakness was evident for it did not produce results. The people were ready for a new religion and soon after Hau-Hauism broke out in full force.¹³ It was the material advantage expected from contact with the missionaries which determined the alacrity with which the aboriginal tribes welcomed the establishment of missions in their midst. Thus the chiefs and the king of Tahiti certainly were not influenced by a pious desire to receive general or religious instruction when they encouraged a missionary settlement on the island. This is evident from a speech once made by Haamanemane, who said that the pious men gave the people plenty of *parau* (word), talk and prayer, but very few knives, axes, scissors and other articles.¹⁴ Roman Catholic missionaries, realizing the motives which first led the natives to favor Christian contact, have frequently taken advantage of the situation, and by the generous distribution of blankets, crosses, and figures, have succeeded in ultimately converting natives once given up by Protestants as hopeless.¹⁵ The chief complaint against the Melanesian Mission is that its teachers spread the theory of Christianity, but nothing more. They are not trained nor encouraged to take part in secular affairs. The obvious result is that religion to the majority of the native members of the church is a thing divorced and separate from everyday life.¹⁶

Facts indicate only too clearly that it was the wish to possess property, to receive the assistance of the Europeans in the exercise of technical and mechanical arts or in tribal warfare, which most strongly influenced native groups to welcome mission settlements among them and to adopt a religion which they seldom understood. With this in mind the reason is apparent why those missions which have entered into the daily life of the people, introduced new technical processes, and given equal attention to matters practical as well as spiritual, have had the greatest success and most influence upon the backward peoples.

Among missionary groups there has long existed a questionable practice of employing the various native languages for instruction. This practice tends to result in the continuation of small isolated groups with no bonds in common, either with other aboriginal tribes or with the whites. The sphere of influence of the mission is greatly restricted, and

¹³ Crawford, J. C., "Travels in New Zealand and Australia," p. 167.

¹⁴ Ellis, Wm., "Polynesian Researches," II, 9.

¹⁵ Martin's "New Zealand," p. 53. (Quoted in Thomson, A. S., "New Zealand," I, 316.)

¹⁶ Jacomb, Edw., "The Future of the Kanaka," p. 150.

congregations are confined solely to those people who understand the particular language of the district. Had English been taught at the outset in Samoa, Tonga, the Fijis and the New Hebrides, the gain to the islanders in being able to communicate with the exterior would have been very considerable, as well as of advantage to traders and employers in the different labor fields.¹⁷

Up to 1917 all teachers in the Melanesian Mission had been trained in Mota. The Mission steadfastly refused to employ either English or the useful, though inadequate substitute, "pidgin-English." In contrast, Presbyterian-trained teachers spoke "pidgin-English" and, thanks to their knowledge of it and their association with Europeans, they became the leaders and spokesmen of their villages in external affairs.¹⁸ In New Caledonia the French priests have always employed their own language, which has redounded to the benefit of all concerned, French and natives.¹⁹ Thus to the extent that missionaries employ the native dialect and thereby perpetuate small isolated communities it would seem that missionary contact must result largely in a negative influence. In fact, it might be regarded as an obstacle to native progress in that villages are now more completely cut off from outside intercourse than in the old days when native wars, alliances and trade necessitated association.

Nothing is more detrimental to the acceptance of the moral code of western civilization by the aboriginal races of the Pacific than the constant bickerings and denominational squabbles which so frequently occur in missionary fields. These conflicts arise among the missionaries themselves and soon spread to their native adherents, while the pagans look on at the exemplification of the new teaching. When the Roman Catholics entered the field in New Zealand the Wesleyan and Church of England missionaries united their influence in opposition. Verbal conflicts were hotly maintained. During one controversy the Romanists said the Church of England clergy stole from them the Scriptures which God had deposited in their hands, and consequently they were thieves. Later, a Church of England missionary characterized the Roman Catholic doctrine as "anti-Christian." A native's perplexity can be seen from the following excerpt from the Parliamentary Papers of 1850.

"Over the Roman-Catholic Church door at Ohinemotu on the banks of the Rotorua lake, are inscribed in Maori, 'This is the house of the only true God'; and Heke, the leader of the insurrection at the Bay of Islands, wrote to Queen

¹⁷ Thomas, Julian, "Cannibals and Convicts," p. 154.

¹⁸ Jacomb, Edw., "The Future of the Kanaka," p. 149.

¹⁹ Thomas, Julian, "Cannibals and Convicts," p. 154.

Victoria that his countrymen were perplexed with the number of religious creeds; that when the missionaries first came they were told the Church of England was the only true church, but there were now three true churches."

This feeling of hostility was naturally conveyed to the converts of the various denominations. If one tribe adopted Catholicism, its hereditary enemies were certain to accept a different mode of faith. The converts were always ready to abuse each other over religious creeds which they did not understand and the precepts of which they daily disregarded.²⁰

Not only did the aborigine have different religious codes placed before him to choose from, but there was another, a more practical code as judged by worldly results, and this was never in harmony with the others. This code was that of the trader. The trader's main purpose was to get from the islander all that he could in the way of produce, land and labor. Experience quickly taught him that he could attain his ends to the best advantage by treating the native with a fair degree of kindness and justice; nothing was to be gained by interfering with local customs and interests. The missionary, however, felt that his great task was to persuade as many as possible of the islanders to cast aside their entire mode of life which had grown up through countless generations, and to adopt strange and much more complex habits of life peculiar to western civilization.²¹ Thus the aboriginal races stood to acquire more of the traits of the white man, particularly the vicious ones, through the pirate, trader and plantation employer than through the ecclesiastic. In the one case he was asked to accept all that was placed before him, in the other he took whatever appealed to him.

It must not be thought, however, that missionary contact has failed to contribute a great deal to the material welfare of the Pacific Islanders. The attitude of the different missions has varied with respect to the amount of practical knowledge taught, some confining their instruction almost entirely to the spiritual. In spite of this fact, the mere presence of people belonging to another culture has been beneficial to the aborigines. Observation and imitation alone would in course of time lead to new processes and acts as practised by the whites; where direct education has been offered in technical arts, gains have been more rapid and greater. In many other ways the missionaries have contributed to the welfare of their charges as, for example, by bringing about the abolition of certain native practices harmful to the group and shocking to the moral sense of

²⁰ Thomson, A. S., "New Zealand," pp. 323, 326.

²¹ Im Thurn, E. F., in Preface to "Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia" (ed. Rivers, W. H. R.), pp. viii, ix.

civilized humanity. The missionaries have induced the Fijian to join in the suppression of such customs as polygamy, cannibalism, strangling of widows, amputating the finger as a sign of mourning, tattooing and similar practices.²² The Hawaiian missionaries were most active in stamping out infanticide. Through the influence of the queen, they were enabled to prevent outside traders from establishing distilleries in the islands.²³ Missionary influence in Tanna has been widely felt. Here one finds no ecclesiastical disputes; the missionaries have been discreet and above all have allowed the development of the people to proceed naturally. In course of time the Mission was instrumental in establishing a hospital and inducing the natives to build and maintain roads. Old infected huts were replaced by dry and airy houses on favorable sites; the people were taught to live simply in the native way, wearing the loin cloth only. The Tannese have become interested in their villages and their homes, and have preserved their old manner of life as regards dress, food and work, with missionary encouragement, not interference and condemnation.²⁴

²² Thomson, Basil, "The Fijians," p. 1.

²³ Bingham, Hiram, "Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands," pp. 339-40, 367-8.

²⁴ Speiser, Dr. Felix, "Decadence and Preservation in the New Hebrides," in "Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia" (ed. Rivers, W. H. R.), pp. 51-2.

CHAPTER XIX

DEPOPULATION

No sadder picture of the consequences developing from the contact of aboriginal races in Polynesia and Australasia with the white race can be drawn than the constant decimation of their numbers. All seem to be on the high road to extinction; some have been, in truth, annihilated; others are dwindling rapidly; and none seem to do better than to hold their own.

Let us now consider some of the primary factors which have led to this wholesale depopulation. Probably the first that comes to mind will have reference to the harsh and cruel treatment accorded the primitive peoples by the early settlers and traders who found their way into that part of the world. Perhaps the most striking examples of inhumanity practised by civilized man upon the natives are those which occurred in Tasmania, New Zealand and Australia. It was such treatment, accompanied by continued encroachments of the invaders, that ultimately goaded the Tasmanians on to the point of murdering whosoever fell into their hands. The government retaliated by setting a premium of £5 sterling on the capture of an adult, and £2 sterling on that of a child. As a result hundreds were brought in and ten times as many slain. Some time later, at an expense of £70,000 sterling, the government conducted a great man hunt, and attempted to draw a cordon of soldiers across the island and, pushing forward, to drive the aborigines into a small peninsula.¹ This was unsuccessful, but the original process of extermination was continued until within a few decades the entire race had vanished.²

The Australians fared no better in their relations with the settlers.

"The lack of intelligence displayed by Australian blacks and their incapacity to appreciate the civilizing methods of the newcomers, impressed the latter with the uselessness of attempting any of those assimilating processes which had been brought to bear upon the dark races in other lands. They soon grew to despise the Australian natives and to treat them more like dogs than human beings. As settlement extended the cruelties increased, and the black man's life was esteemed at no higher value than that of a kangaroo or 'possum.

¹ Jung, Karl E., "Der Weltteil Australien," II, 148-9.

² Grey, J. Grattan, "Australasia, Old and New," p. 28.

Indeed in Australia, and afterwards in Van Diemen's Land the gun was used indiscriminately upon blacks and kangaroos, and a day's sport consisted of a mixed destruction of man and animal. Some monsters even went farther in this inhuman and devilish process of extermination, for it has been established beyond the possibility of successful contradiction, that one of the practices often resorted to at the end of the eighteenth and far into the nineteenth century, was to lay poisoned food in places where the natives were certain to find it."³

The uncompromising spirit of the settlers denied to the blacks any claim to the protection of law, or to any of the immunities of human beings. Shooting a native in the jurisprudence of the bush was not regarded as murder.⁴ Lumholtz says he often heard the remark in Northern Australia, "The only treatment proper for the blacks is to shoot them all." Squatters acted on this principle. One said he shot all the men he discovered on his run because they were cattle killers; the women because they gave birth to cattle killers; and the children, because they would in time become cattle killers. Colonists would say in speaking of the blacks, "They are unwilling to work, and hence they are not fit to live."⁵ Colonial mores demanded serious labor from every individual; the blacks did not respond; they were regarded as incapable of civilization,⁶ consequently it was useless to waste time and sympathy upon them.

Europeans were stimulated to shoot New Zealanders whenever occasion presented itself, because they felt it a duty and a service to extirpate a race of cannibals. Every vessel approaching the coast of New Zealand had boarding nets as a means of defense. Evidence offered before the House of Lords in 1838 gave facts such as Europeans giving a chief corrosive sublimate to poison his foes at a feast held to celebrate peace, enticing New Zealanders on board ship and landing them in the midst of their enemies, and forcibly kidnapping natives. On the other hand New Zealanders were always covetous and eager for revenge. The brig *Agnes* was stranded at Poverty Bay in 1816 and all the crew save one were killed and eaten; at Wanganui in 1820 a whale ship was cast ashore and the entire crew butchered and eaten. With such occurrences it is easy to see how race contact in New Zealand resulted in a mutual desire to exterminate one another.⁷

As a rule pioneers of western civilization were weak in numbers. Their

³ Grey, J. Grattan, "Australasia, Old and New," p. 24. Also see Peschel, Oscar, "The Races of Man," p. 151.

⁴ Jameson, R. G., "New Zealand, South Australia and New South Wales," p. 64.

⁵ Lumholtz, Carl, "Among Cannibals," p. 347.

⁶ Stokes, J. L., "Discoveries in Australia," I, 252-3.

⁷ Thomson, A. S., "New Zealand," I, 252-3.

favorable position, secured by the possession of firearms, did not continue indefinitely, for in course of time the savages found means of possessing themselves of like weapons through the channels of trade and plunder. The white man must have recourse to strategy, which worked out most frequently in a settled policy of appealing to the ethnocentric feeling and the ambitions of the aborigines. To play tribe against tribe, encourage hatred and distrust, and finally pit them one against the other for mutual destruction were the means employed. Mark Twain commented with regard to one of two monuments which he saw at Wanganui:—"It is a monument erected by white men to Maoris who fell fighting with the whites and against their own people in the Maori war. 'Sacred to the memory of the brave men who fell on the 14th of May, 1864,' etc. On one side are the names of about twenty Maoris. It is not a fancy of mine, I saw it. It is an object-lesson to the rising generation. It invites treachery, disloyalty, unpatriotism. Its lesson in frank terms is, 'Desert your flag, slay your people, burn their homes, shame your nationality—we honor such.'" The policy of the government was always to purchase by presents and pensions the good will of the principal native chiefs which accounts for "friendly natives" taking the field against their own countrymen in all the outbreaks that occurred.⁸

As contributing to some extent to depopulation of the races under consideration we might mention excessive labor. On the plantations, particularly in the earlier days of the labor trade when the governments had no regulations regarding repatriation, the losses must have been very considerable. It was virtual slavery, and plantation owners often conducted their own expeditions in quest of fresh labor when the old hands gave out. In old New Zealand Maoris used to submit to the greatest hardships and overexposure in cleaning and scraping flax by hand with shell implements in order to get the wherewithal to purchase muskets, ammunition and iron implements. Firearms meant survival in the tribal wars; they must be had at any cost; thus food crops were neglected for flax and the people were always half-starved.⁹

If we now turn to the island groups in the Pacific we find that there has been no deliberate attempt to wipe out the native tribes. The injurious influences of European contact have been unintentional and unwitting for the most part. There is a common belief that the Melanesians, for instance, were dying out before contact with Europeans, and that their decline was attributable to faults inherent in their own culture. It is

⁸ Grey, J. Grattan, "Australasia, Old and New," pp. 250-3.

⁹ A Pakeha Maori (ed. Earl of Pembroke), "Old New Zealand," pp. 162-3.

extremely difficult, however, to find evidence for this view and more direct factors must be sought.¹⁰

Whenever causes contributing to the decline of native races are mentioned, alcohol, introduced by the white man, is given foremost consideration. Although distilled spirits undoubtedly have had a deleterious effect upon the aboriginal races, it is probable that their importance has been overestimated. Most primitive peoples had knowledge of intoxicants and their use was not new to them, but the means of production were oftentimes difficult and the alcohol content was relatively small. Furthermore, the use of such native stimulants was frequently associated with certain religious festivals and functions. Imported liquor, being made an object of trade from the beginning and no traditional mores existing as to its use, would naturally come into greater favor, and therefore produce a more deleterious effect upon the undisciplined savage than his own weak stimulants. Johnston attributes the decline in population of the Polynesian and Melanesian groups, from perhaps 700,000 in Cook's day to the present 400,000, to alcohol and the spread of disease.¹¹ Likewise, Ellis gives alcohol a prominent place in bringing about the decimation of the aboriginal inhabitants.¹²

Depopulation was hastened in all the Polynesian Islands by the introduction of firearms.¹³ It was not, however, in direct conflict with the white man that the greater losses were maintained, as we have observed to be the case in New Zealand, but by the mounting desire of enlarging territory and augmenting power at the expense of other native tribes. "Destruction was the avowed design with which they commenced every war, and the principle of extermination rendered all their hostilities fatal to the vanquished party."¹⁴

Loss of means of subsistence as a consequence of being pushed out of the more favorably endowed localities can also be regarded as a contributory cause of the decline in native populations. No region shows this state of affairs better than Australasia. In Tasmania the people had but few arts of life,¹⁵ and, driven from place to place and always on the defensive against the white intruders, they were unable to maintain even their old standards. The invasion of the whites on the one hand, and the

¹⁰ Rivers, W. H. R., "The Psychological Factor," in "Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia" (ed. Rivers, W. H. R.), pp. 87, 88, 89.

¹¹ Johnston, Sir H. H., "The Backward Peoples and Our Relations with Them," p. 48.

¹² Ellis, Wm., "Polynesian Researches," I, 108.

¹³ *Supra*, pp. 153-4.

¹⁴ Ellis, Wm., "Polynesian Researches," I, 106-7.

¹⁵ Ratzel, Friedrich, "Völkerkunde," I, 352.

drying-up of Australia on the other, were ever restricting the area in which an absolutely uncivilized race, with no means of tapping the water at any depth, could exist.¹⁶

A general decline in the birth rate accompanied the increasing scarcity of means of subsistence. The native Australians and the inhabitants of numerous Pacific Islands actually took measures to prevent the rearing of children so that there might be less competition for the meager food supply of the country. From among the Tasmanians numbering over two hundred, deported to Flinders Island in 1835, only fourteen births took place during the following seven years, in spite of the fact that in their native state the Tasmanians were known to be just as prolific as any other aboriginal race.¹⁷ The diminishing birth rate was very marked in the Sandwich Islands and in Tahiti in the first half of the nineteenth century. On one island in the Mendana group the population fell from 400 to 250 inhabitants in the course of three years, and only three or four births took place during that period.¹⁸ The falling birth rate in the New Hebrides has been ascribed to the scarcity of women, to the fact that in each village a few old men may have all the women, and to the early age at which girls become mothers thus becoming prematurely sterile. However it must be added that until a few years ago the people increased in numbers and the islanders were strong and healthy in spite of their polyandric relations and general license.¹⁹ The following table is representative of the declining birth rate in Melanesia:

THREE GENERATION TABLE SHOWING DECLINE IN BIRTH RATE
(This occurs along with increasing death rate)

TABLE I. EDDYSTONE ISLAND

Gener- ation	Total No. of Mar- riages	Total No. of Chil- dren	Child- less Mar- riages in %	Marriages with Children			No. doubt- ful	Children who died young, in %	
				1 or 2	3 to 5	6 or more		M.	F.
I	207	447	19.4	43.5	32.8	4.3	..	6.4	4.5
II	295	379	46.1	29.0	18.9	3.3	2.7	18.5	8.1
III ...	110	72	52.7	32.7	5.5	0	9.1	31.1	14.8

¹⁶ Johnston, Sir H. H., "The Backward Peoples and Our Relations with Them," p. 47.

¹⁷ Hughes, William, "The Australian Colonies," p. 240.

¹⁸ Peschel, Oscar, "The Races of Man," pp. 151-2.

¹⁹ Speiser, Dr. Felix, "Decadence and Preservation in the New Hebrides," in "Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia" (ed. Rivers, W. H. R.), pp. 33-4.

TABLE II. VELLA LAVELLA

Generation	Total No. of Mar- riages	Total No. of Chil- dren	Child- less Mar- riages in %	Marriages with Children				Children who died young, in %	
				1 or 2	3 to 5	6 or more	No. doubt- ful	M.	F.
I	116	279	12.1	4.2	41.4	4.3	..	1.7	2.7
II	209	297	35.4	37.8	21.1	1.4	4.3	6.3	3.7
III ...	57	15	71.9	22.8	0	0	5.3	25.0	28.6 ²⁰

This decreasing birth rate is accompanied by a discouragingly high infant mortality. Deaths in childbirth are very few. The mother's milk is supplemented from the first with chewed taro or yam in spite of the advice of European missionaries. Tradition is blindly followed, the only defense to such a practice being, "We were brought up like that," and their own survival, which is taken as proof of the excellence of the time-honored way. Weaklings could never survive. Durrad informs us that of the 145 infants baptized at the school since 1906 only 79 have survived (1922).

The attempted change to the habits of European culture has had a decided effect on the death rate. Thus the adoption of European clothing—wearing the same habiliments all the time in all weather, without change, until the garments are virtually rotted off—is one of the principal causes of disease and death.²¹ This pernicious habit has more than its share to do with the rate of infant mortality. The children are carried in the arms or astride on the hip in a carrying scarf and come in contact with any clothing the parents happen to be wearing. Our authority continues, "I know of no spectacle more wretched than to see a tiny child, covered with sores and whimpering with misery and discomfort, being carried on a soaking wet day on the back of a woman whose garments are a sodden mass."²²

Housing is one phase of European culture which the aborigines have adopted much to their own great cost.²³ Still another phase was the change of place of abode which occurred in New Zealand. Here, when the use of the gun became general, the people removed their dwellings from the high and dry hilltops to the lowlands where they did their

²⁰ Rivers, W. H. R., "The Psychological Factor," in "Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia" (ed. Rivers, W. H. R.), p. 98.

²¹ *Supra*, pp. 154-5.

²² Durrad, Rev. W. J., "The Depopulation of Melanesia," in "Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia" (ed. Rivers, W. H. R.), pp. 15-7.

²³ *Supra*, p. 155.

cultivation and where they built fortifications which could be protected by modern weapons. This was their destruction, for their oven-like houses, built in the swamps and often completely flooded, were terrible disease breeders.²⁴

Explanations as to the decline of native stocks do not always take into consideration the matter of intermarriage and assimilation by the dominant races. This is especially true where there does not exist that strong race antipathy such as is found between the negro and the white man. In New Zealand the Maori is gradually being absorbed into the New Zealand people²⁵; in the Hawaiian Islands the Caucasian and Chinese stocks are rapidly assimilating the native. The decline of numbers in the Hawaiian race, as well as the increase of the mixed races, can be seen from the figures below:

DECLINE OF HAWAIIAN STOCK

	1900	1910
Pure Hawaiian	29,799	26,041
Imported pure stocks	116,349	153,362
Mixed races	7,857	12,506

Recent figures showing the proportionate increase of part Hawaiian children in the schools are also very illuminating:

	Public Schools			Private Schools
	1910	1920	1925	1925
Pure Hawaiian	3527	3458	3514	699
Part Hawaiian	2584	4478	5596	1937 ^{**}

Fusion is said to produce in the case of the Caucasian-Hawaiian a type not noticeably inferior to the parent stocks, and in the case of the Chinese-Hawaiian a type superior to either of its progenitors.²⁷ Where a strong race antipathy prevails, the above explanation for the decline of native stocks is invalid as there is little chance of miscegenation. That race hatred may be as strong on the part of the aborigines as among the whites is shown in West Australia, where, if a native woman brings forth

^{**} A Pakeha Maori (ed. Earl of Pembroke), "Old New Zealand," pp. 159-60.

^{**} Johnston, Sir H. H., "The Backward Peoples and Our Relations with Them," pp. 47-8.

Merivale, H., "Lectures on Colonisation and the Colonies," II, 201.

^{**} Talbott, E. G., "Making Americans in Hawaii," in American Review of Reviews, March, 1926, p. 282.

^{**} Reece, E. J., "Race Mingling in Hawaii," in American Journal of Sociology, vol. XX (1914-5), p. 113.

a child begotten by a white father, it is invariably sacrificed by her male relatives.²⁸

The most important of all factors contributing to depopulation in the Pacific regions has been the introduction of the white man's diseases. Natives of the tropical regions had become acclimatized to that environment through the course of ages, during which natural selection and survival of the fittest had taken place. In the more temperate regions a like process occurred, the aborigines acquiring a natural immunity to certain diseases peculiar to their habitat. Contact with the white race, however, brought in its train a host of diseases for which the aboriginal races had developed no natural immunity. Furthermore, almost from the first minute of contact their time was occupied in resisting the encroachments of the white man, and in providing for themselves under more and more unfavorable conditions caused by the loss of their most fertile lands and confinement to smaller unproductive regions. The adoption of imported customs, clothing, housing, change of diet, liquor and the like, all assisted in undermining the constitutional vigor of the native. In addition, it might be pointed out that medical science, which makes possible a certain degree of artificial immunity to disease, was scarcely ever available to the original inhabitants of the country.

Codrington mentions that dysentery was unknown to the Melanesians until natives returning from residence with the Europeans in Fiji brought the disease with them. He further states, "Within my own recollection syphilis, or the venereal disease which was taken for it, was unknown in the islands visited by the Melanesian Mission, except at San Cristoval, where alone intercourse with whalers and traders had been considerable. It has lately become widely known, and it is certain that it has been brought back by returned laborers, male and female." The lack of native names for these diseases certainly seems to indicate that they were unknown before contact with foreigners.²⁹ On many of the plantations the owners have no scruples against recruiting women for the common enjoyment of their indentured laborers. Large numbers of boys return from the plantations to their homes thoroughly diseased. The population of Aneityum is said to have been destroyed to a great extent by the ravages of syphilis.³⁰

Measles were introduced into Fiji by a chief's son and his servant

²⁸ Byrne, J. C., "Twelve Years in the British Colonies," II, 320.

²⁹ Codrington, R. H., "The Melanesians, Their Anthropology and Folklore," p. 12, note.

³⁰ Speiser, Dr. Felix, "Decadence and Preservation in the New Hebrides," in "Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia" (ed. Rivers, W. H. R.), p. 29.

returning from Sydney who communicated the disease to a great native gathering in Lavuka. These people scattered to their homes with the germs of the disease upon them, and spread it broadcast throughout the country. Over 40,000 persons out of a population numbering scarcely 150,000 died from measles, and the famine and dysentery following it, within the space of four months.³¹

When Cook visited the Society Islands during his third voyage, he forbade the members of the crew to go on shore because some of them were suffering from sex disease and he did not wish to communicate it to the aborigines. He mentions that in the Friendly Islands the crew had spread the disease among the natives in spite of the fact that he had issued orders regulating their conduct.³²

Bad colds developing into bronchitis or pneumonia are the most prevalent diseases in Melanesia. In Santa Cruz where only one white man was settled (1922), the population was fast diminishing through colds brought by visiting ships. The population in Graciosa Bay is estimated to be only half of what it was seven years ago. Some years colds are endemic, and then again they assume an epidemic nature, quickly spreading from coast inland, and from island to island. Sometimes whole villages are attacked so that hardly a soul is unaffected. Bishop Patterson landed a party of his scholars on Mota, where he found the inhabitants in good health. Returning in a fortnight to Mota he found a woeful change; dysentery and severe influenza were everywhere at hand. About twenty-five adults were dead, and twenty-seven died within the next two days and a half, with many more dying, emaciated, coughing and fainting. The Mission party, coming from New Zealand in the winter when colds were common, had brought the scourge to Mota.³³

The natives themselves have observed the correlation between contact with foreigners and hitherto unknown diseases. Thus the islanders of the Kau Atolls (Mortlock Group) disenchanted the crew of the barquentine *Lord of the Isles* while parleying with the crew at sea. One man in each canoe had a handful of ashes done up in leaves which, at the close of the interview, he scattered in the air. On Normanby Island in the d'Entrecasteaux group the natives refused to hold communication with the British exploring party until the old men had chewed a scented bark and spat it over each of the visitors and their own people. On the island of

³¹ Thomson, Basil, "The Fijians," p. 252.

³² Cook, Jas., "Third Voyage," II, 196.

³³ Durrad, Rev. W. J., "The Depopulation of Melanesia," in "Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia" (ed. Rivers, W. H. R.), pp. 5-6. See also Speiser in "Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia," p. 26.

St. Kilda the natives accuse Scotch visitors of bringing disease, and call their ailment the "stranger's cold" or "boat cough," which shows that it had formerly been unknown to them.³⁴

The Tahitians placed the blame for the epidemic raging in the islands upon the missionaries, and asserted that their old deities were kinder than the God of the whites. "Un Jour," says Arbousset, "on amène aux frères une foule de malades, en leur disant: 'guérissez-les: vous parlez toujours de salut, mais nous mourons: laissez-nous jouir de ce bas-monde, car que savons-nous du monde à venir?' " ³⁵ The Alfuros of New Guinea said to the fever-racked D'Albertis, "We have come to beg you to leave our village as soon as possible; you have brought us bad luck. Our sons began to die so soon as you came and looked at them. Five died in three days. It is you who have killed them with your eyes. Depart or all the rest will perish." The next day he noticed that no natives came near the camp; the women made a new path to the river to avoid passing near his house so that his ill-omened glance might not fall on them.³⁶

The linking of the white man with disease, and the primitive notion that all disease is due to the malevolence of an enemy, is certainly one of the reasons for the hostile treatment accorded Europeans after the natives' early experience of association with foreigners. In many places the Pacific Islanders adopted the one most effective method of quarantine; they murdered their visitors. Indeed, the people of the island Niné went so far as to kill natives of other islands who drifted there in distress. Likewise, the dread of disease prompted them to kill any of their own people who went away in a ship and came back. When they obtained anything by trade with passing ships, they hung it up in a bush in quarantine for many weeks.³⁷

It is notable that where contact has been restricted there have been but few diseases and a relatively low mortality. This must be due to the fact that natives continue to live in accord with their old customs which represent tested adjustments to their given environment. Thus, of the inhabitants of the Gambrei Islands whose contact with white men had been very infrequent, Beechey informs us that of some 300 men, women, and children observed by the ship's surgeon, extremely few were laboring under any original deformity or annoying disease.³⁸

³⁴ Thomson, Basil, "The Fijians," p. 250.

³⁵ Arbousset, Th., "Tahiti," p. 67.

³⁶ D'Albertis, L. M., "New Guinea," p. 53.

³⁷ Thomson, Basil, "The Fijians," pp. 248-50.

³⁸ Beechey, Capt. F. W., "Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait," p. 127.

Having considered the various factors contributing to the depopulation of primitive races, let us glance at the numerical extent and the rapidity of this decline. From a population of some 5000 in 1815, the Tasmanians numbered but sixteen persons in 1860, and in 1876 the last survivor succumbed.³⁹ From best accounts there were above 1500 natives living between Botany Bay and Broken Bay in 1788; by 1840 it was believed that there was not a single native of the original tribes left in Sydney, and in the interior there were a few miserable wretches dependent upon what they could beg for their daily food. Mr. Threlkeld reports in 1839 that "of one large tribe in the interior four years ago there were 164 persons—there are now only *three* individuals alive!"⁴⁰ With respect to the Maoris, "Judging from the numerous remains of a very large fortified *pas*, chiefly in the North Island, the Maori population must have been many times greater than at present. At the present time they number 40,000 souls, and these numbers seem to decrease by about 4000 between every census, or at the rate of 1000 a year."⁴¹ In the Loyalty Islands population had fallen off considerably, but of late years this tendency has been checked and population remains almost stationary.⁴²

Present conditions in Melanesia can best be described by a few representative cases. Not long ago Fate or Sandwich Island was well-populated. To-day the bush people have wholly disappeared, and there are but few people living on the coast. The shores of the island of Aore are strewn with sherds of pottery which show the former presence of a population of considerable size; now just three inhabitants survive: in Espiritu Santo several villages have entirely disappeared, the sites now being occupied by a few wretched people who have moved down from the interior. Tangoa formerly boasted of three large villages, each with a dialect of its own; to-day all its inhabitants live in one small village. At Vulua twenty years ago there were at least 200 people, according to the district missionary, while to-day only a handful of natives survive with hardly any children; the village will soon be extinct. In the Banks and Torres Islands population has been reduced by at least one-half during the last two decades. The rapidity of decline is evident from a perusal of recent figures for a few of the islands:

³⁹ Ratzel, Friedrich, "Völkerkunde," I, 352.

⁴⁰ Eyre, E. J., "Central Australia," II, 414-5. From Reports, May and July, 1839, of Aboriginal Protection Society.

⁴¹ Crawford, J. C., "Travels in New Zealand and Australia," p. 354.

⁴² Hadfield, E., "Among the Natives of the Loyalty Group," pp. 191-3.

	1917	1918	1920
Mota	384	...	315
Motalava (Motlav)	697	...	568
Merelava (Merlav) .....	...	506	467
Gaua (Santa Maria) 7 villages .....	...	229	215
Ureparapara .....	...	169	150

In the Santa Cruz Group many islands once well peopled are quite deserted, the decline having been especially great in recent years. The same phenomenal decline is to be observed in the Solomons. From a hilltop on one island the sites of forty-six villages could be counted, of which only three are now inhabited. Wango, with a population of about 500 in 1887, has less than 100 souls to-day.⁴³

The Gambier cluster of the Tuamotus, in which is included Mangareva, government seat of the eastern half of the colony, has now a population of 500 souls as against 1900 fifty years ago. A vivid picture is given by Murphy:

"Crumbling stone houses line the shores of Mangareva. A convent, which in years past housed hundreds of girls, is to-day covered by the growths of the encroaching jungle and will soon be only a memory. The cathedral of the island . . . is decorated about the altar with thousands of pearl shells, telling of a congregation that is no more."⁴⁴

Many authorities conversant with the problem of depopulation of aboriginal tribes see only the past, and regard their own particular age with great optimism. Thus Ellis thinks (1831) that a rapid increase of population is going on, which he attributes to the renovating and general principles of true religion.⁴⁵ There are, however, some indications that depopulation has not been advancing so rapidly in the latter half of the nineteenth century as in the first part, which must result from the aborigines becoming more and more accustomed to the new culture life placed before them.

That in some places the government is aware of the true state of affairs and is attempting to check this wholesale depopulation is apparent in the case of Fiji. In 1885, when it became obvious that the native race was losing in number and that the colonial government could not afford a sufficient staff of medical officers, a scheme was submitted and accepted

⁴³ Rivers, W. H. R., "The Psychological Factor," in "Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia" (ed. Rivers, W. H. R.), pp. 84, 85, 86.

⁴⁴ Murphy, R. C., "The Romance of Science in Polynesia," in *National Geographic Magazine*, Oct., 1925, p. 419.

⁴⁵ Ellis, Wm., "Polynesian Researches," I, 108.

by the governor, Sir William Des Voeux, whereby a number of approved students from the Methodist missionary colleges should receive a systematic course of instruction in medicine, and that they should be appointed as "Native Medical Practitioners" in their own provinces. The course was supplemented with practice in minor surgery and domestic medicine. Disciplinary and technical training was received in the Colonial Hospital.⁴⁶

Despite such sporadic cases of amelioration the fact remains that where contact has been going on for some time the only hope of checking a progressive depopulation of native races is that the remaining aborigines may develop an increasing resistance and immunity to the foreign diseases. Education will go a long way in preventing the spread of disease germs if old familiar practices such as drinking from the same bamboo, exchange of eating utensils and of pipes can be broken down.⁴⁷ Likewise some pressure must needs be brought to bear upon the various other causes of this excessive mortality. Primitive man must learn to adjust himself to the changed environment which a strange culture has created in his midst. Society cannot and will not recreate the old conditions of life to which he had been accustomed. He must fit into the new culture life the best he can; the most we can do for him is to offer encouragement and help make conditions favorable for his future adjustment.

⁴⁶ MacGregor, Sir Wm., "Disease and Its Treatment," in "Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia" (ed. Rivers, W. H. R.), pp 80-1.

⁴⁷ Speiser, Dr. Felix, "Decadence and Preservation in the New Hebrides," in "Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia" (ed. Rivers, W. H. R.), p. 27.

CHAPTER XX

SUMMARY ON AUSTRALASIA AND POLYNESIA

For a study of the immediate consequences of contact between races of higher and lower cultural attainments Australasia and the islands of the Pacific afford one of the best examples. Here we have a relatively brief period covering little more than a century and a half during which native races, hitherto untouched by civilization, have passed through the gamut of race contact with peoples of a superior culture.

As we have observed, the fundamental basis of early contact was purely economic. The native was drawn into the meshes of race conflict as soon as it was discovered that he possessed commodities or services of value to the European. Thus the discovery of sandalwood called forth innumerable traders, and the development of plantation colonies in Queensland, Fiji and other islands gave value to the labor services of the aborigines. Early trade was stimulated by the desire of the natives for articles of adornment which the merchant quite readily supplied at exorbitant prices. But as soon as the market was saturated with such goods and the native came to understand the uses of European tools and weapons, his desires underwent a rapid change. Thus his case is precisely the same as that of the American Indian; his estimates of value depend entirely upon the relative scarcity of the commodities and the known uses to which he may put them. The trader brought within reach of the savage the accompaniments of civilization and stimulated new desires in his mind.

Our study of the Pacific Islanders further demonstrates the fact that honesty is a relative phenomenon, and that civilization has not changed the fundamental nature or characteristics of savage man. His reactions depend upon his situation within the group; to overreach a member of one's own group is *wrong* while cheating or stealing from an outsider does not come within the pale of the prohibition. *Per contra*, the trader sees no harm in defrauding the aborigine; he is not a "white man," and the same ethics as would be expected in dealing with civilized men do not apply. It has also been shown that the apparent dishonesty of certain native tribes is frequently the result of extending a local custom of communal rights to the whites, who, having no analogous custom, attributed it to the knavish disposition of the aborigines.

True it is that certain material benefits have been given to the aborigines of Polynesia and Australasia as a result of contact with a superior culture, but many of these contributions have been of doubtful value; indeed, it would be better to say harmful. One benefit frequently stressed as having been conferred upon the Pacific Islander is that association with the whites taught him to work. This is questionable. The most that can be said is that primitive man's energies have been redirected to certain activities belonging to another culture stage. Aboriginal life demanded just as great an expenditure of labor as did conditions of contact. Indeed, it is under such modified conditions that labor application is checked, for the savage is no longer compelled to make his own tools and weapons with his crude and toilsome methods, nor is he permitted to participate in head-hunting and war which consumed so much of his time in preparation and battle. Instead, by occasional labor for Europeans or through trade channels he comes into possession of the more efficient tools and weapons of European make, thereby saving the hours formerly spent in fabricating them himself; likewise the time formerly employed in war and head-hunting, and preparation for the same, lies idle on his hands. With the entire social and economic fabric of his own culture toppling about him it is not surprising that adjustment to a new culture stage takes a long time, and native labor application under a new state of affairs is quite inefficient.

Turning to the economic losses suffered by primitive man as a result of contact, the foremost appears to be the destruction of natural resources. Thus the malicious devastation of native crops and villages by the white invaders, the inconsistent land policies of the European governments and the introduction of firearms, which brought about the unwarranted killing of man and beast, all tended to produce an irregular food supply and made it increasingly difficult for the aborigines to maintain a precarious existence.

Even more far-reaching were the social changes produced in native life by contact with civilized groups. Here occurred the clash of two distinct codes of mores wherein customs of the native races, incompatible with the ways of the stronger civilized societies, were foredoomed. The immediate result of the application of European law to these primitive people was the absolute prohibition of ancient practices such as infanticide, human sacrifice, cannibalism, head-hunting and the like. Many of these customs were comparable to beams helping to support the entire social structure; their removal precipitated a complete breakdown of the existing social fabric. Thus head-hunting was the means by which a warrior proved his manhood, showed his fitness to marry and his capacity to rule;

cannibalism was bound up with religion; there was an extensive interdependence of native customs of which our lawmakers never dreamed.

Most noticeable in the Pacific Islands has been the European interference with the native governmental organization. The native system had essentially the same purpose as ours—to preserve law and order. The fact that its method was not in conformity to our own does not militate against its effectiveness; in fact the substitution of our governmental organization has seldom proved more efficient. Under the old native system law and order were effectively maintained by fear of private revenge, by the group responsibility for the misdeeds of the individual, and by the awe in which the supernatural power of the chiefs was held. The almost invariable procedure has been to forbid such native regulations, but to make no effort to replace them by new ones applicable to the situation. The upshot of this is a reign of anarchy and the unavoidable intervention of the civilized powers. If the king is allowed to retain his empty title, it is only as a pensioner of the government.¹

Just as the presence of the white man had a ruinous effect upon the native governmental organization, so did it affect family life and marriage customs. With the savage races political organization is not a thing apart from the family institution, but tendrils extend from one to the other and the collapse of one undermines the other. Thus without a regulative system the traditional family customs could not be enforced. The presence of European settlers and missionaries, condemning the old marriage laws and encouraging customs patterned after their own, demoralized the native. He did not understand the European customs which he aped, and in relaxing his own the inevitable result was moral licentiousness. Inter-marriage with the riff-raff of European traders and adventurers did not raise the moral tone, nor did life on the plantations of European residents.

The missionaries in the Australasian and Polynesian fields have improved the position of the aborigines but little, if any. Deeply wedded to the conviction that European mores are superior to all others, they have been most zealous in grafting them upon the aborigines. The natives seem incapable of deep religious feeling and accept Christianity more in form than in substance. Like the American Indian the Pacific Islander demands a practical religion, one which will afford him substantial food rather than spiritual nutrition and guidance, and it is to those missionaries who have acted upon this principle that the greatest success has come.

The most sinister consequence of European contact with Australasia and the Pacific Islands has been the rapid depopulation of the native races.

¹ Stevenson, R. L., "A Footnote to History," pp. 305-7.

As far as this constitutes a problem for the European nations involved there seem to be two viewpoints: let the native survive the best he can, under the belief that extinction of lower races is the inevitable result of civilization and that it is useless to interfere with the natural order of events;² or find the various contributory causes of depopulation induced by contact and interpose such remedies as may be possible. In brief, depopulation may be attributed to race hatred and indiscriminate slaughter in the early days, and in modern times to the loss of natural resources, the introduction of European diseases and the peculiar susceptibility of the aborigines to them, and lastly, to the steady decline in the birth rate and a growing infant mortality. A contributing cause is the psychological attitude of many aboriginal tribes that their race is doomed to extinction, and self-perpetuation is not worth the immediate sacrifice of bringing children into the world. Many of the above causes of depopulation may quite properly be attributed to the change from savage to civilized life, a change so rapid that the normal process of evolution and adjustment could not keep pace. Intermarriage and the gradual absorption of the native races by immigrant stocks is likewise an important factor in the numerical decline of the native races.

In conclusion, it would be well to further consider a question suggested in Part I of this book:³ Are there any special characteristics, either in the tribe or in its culture, which have enabled certain primitive races to withstand the shocks and vicissitudes of contact with races of superior culture to a better advantage than others?

A contrast of the showing made by the Pacific Islanders pursuing agriculture to a fair degree with their non-agricultural neighbors appears to shed further light on the problem. The most advanced tillage at the time of contact was to be found on some of the Polynesian and Melanesian Islands. Cultivation seems to have attained its highest level in the Tonga Islands,⁴ where even the king sometimes assisted in order to set an example of industry to his people.⁵ Agriculture was less intensively carried on in the Society Islands; in many places, though overflowing with the richest productions, Cook found scarcely any traces of human labor. He attributed their lack of care to the natural fertility of the country, and to the great abundance of products freely offered by nature. On the other hand, speaking of the Sandwich Islands, Cook says, "The great quantity

² Merivale, H., "Lectures on Colonisation and the Colonies," II, 203-4.

³ *Supra*, p. 125.

⁴ Ratzel, Friedrich, "Völkerkunde," I, 236.

⁵ Martin, John, "The Tonga Islands," I, xxxii, 162.

and goodness of these articles (taro, sugar cane, potatoes, etc.) may also, perhaps, be as much attributed to skilful culture as to natural fertility of the soil."⁶ The Fijians had a well-developed agriculture with a succession of crops and were well acquainted with the art of irrigation.⁷

Agriculture in New Zealand had not attained as high a level as in the more favored islands of Polynesia. The natives knew nothing of fertilizing and improving the soil and scarcely ever cultivated the same fields two years in succession.⁸ In some parts of New Zealand, however, Furneaux noticed some very orderly plantations:⁹ at one place about 150 to 200 acres were observed by Cook to be under cultivation.¹⁰ Later, as contact increased, the New Zealanders began to cultivate flax on a more intensive scale for purposes of trade. In New Guinea agriculture was very little developed at the time of discovery,¹¹ though in some places they cultivated bananas, yams and sweet potatoes.¹² Of all native peoples probably none showed as little acquaintance with agriculture as the Australians and Tasmanians. Occasionally a suggestion of tillage was observable, where some slight care was expended in planting yams.¹³

Now if we observe the rapidity of the decline of the above-mentioned races, it is evident that the greatest devastation occurred among those groups which were unacquainted with agriculture or practised that of the rudest sort. Thus the Australians, the New Zealanders and the Tasmanians suffered most severely. Little can be said about New Guinea as contact did not take place until much later in that region. Probably the races which have come out the best have been those living in the Sandwich or Hawaiian Islands who have adopted our culture life almost entirely,¹⁴ followed by other lesser agricultural tribes. Thus the facts do tend to show greater adaptability to European culture on the part of the more advanced agricultural tribes. This may be owing to the fact that they have risen to a higher culture stage, and it is easier for them to bridge the gap that exists between their mores and those of the European peoples than in the case of non-agricultural tribes.¹⁵

⁶ Cook, Jas., "Third Voyage," II, 145-6; 244-5.

⁷ Spencer, Herbert, "Principles of Sociology," II, 236.

⁸ Thiercelin, "Voyage d'une baleinière," II, 15, 80. (Quoted in Letourneau, Ch., "L'évolution de la propriété," p. 86.)

⁹ Cook, Jas., "First Voyage" (Hawkesworth's), II, 313.

¹⁰ Cook, Jas., "Second Voyage," II, 252.

¹¹ Ratzel, Friedrich, "Völkerkunde," I, 237.

¹² D'Albertis, L. M., "New Guinea," p. 191.

¹³ Ratzel, Friedrich, "Völkerkunde," I, 336.

¹⁴ Reece, E. J., "Race Mingling in Hawaii," in *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. XX (1914-5), p. 113.

¹⁵ Cf. Peschel, Oscar, "The Races of Man," p. 154.

Spencer points out that militancy, which varies directly with the political development of primitive societies, is another characteristic possessed by those races showing the greatest capacity for survival under conditions of contact.¹⁶ Thus, the Fijians were among the most warlike of primitive peoples, having well-organized military forces and elaborate fortifications. The Sandwich Islanders, as well as the Tahitians, developed strong despotisms. But the New Zealanders, although they did not possess an extensive political system, cannot be classified as less belligerent than the above races. The Australians were the least warlike, but that probably resulted from their utter lack of political organization and the poverty of their environment, which forced them to live in small, isolated groups. Thus, while it is difficult to draw as sharp a line of distinction as in the case of agricultural and non-agricultural tribes, there appears to be some evidence pointing to the truth of Spencer's assertion.

¹⁶ Spencer, Herbert, "Principles of Sociology," II, 236.

PART III
AFRICA

CHAPTER XXI

RACE CONTACT AND THE EVOLUTION OF ECONOMIC CONCEPTS

As the trend of recent events in Africa indicates, the social and economic consequences of contact between the whites and the blacks are of the utmost importance to the student of race relations. Among the aborigines in their native state varying stages of culture existed, the degree of advancement depending largely upon their reaction to the physical environment, to climate and topography. Some races possessed all the characteristics of the hunting stage, some were on the nomadic stage, and others typified the agricultural stage.¹ Moreover, certain regions are much more favorable to white colonization than others. For example, that area formerly included in German East Africa and most of the territory in South Africa afford the white man a home where acclimatization is relatively easy; in such places the conflict between the white and the black is certain to take on the character of a struggle for existence, and a tendency toward the supplanting of the weaker race by the stronger.

Some idea of the extent of the uncivilized races in Africa to-day, among whom we have the best opportunities of observing the effects of contact with white culture, can be gained from the following extract:

"The 'savage' peoples of Africa are now few in number; perhaps a hundred thousand in Portuguese Guinea (south of the Gambia); a million in Liberia, another million in the southern part of French Nigeria (*ie.*, north of the Ivory Coast), about two millions in Southeastern British Nigeria and the adjoining Cameroons, two hundred thousand in South Cameroons and the inner Gaboon and along the course of the Sanga River; three or four millions in the Belgian Congo, half a million on the southwest flanks of Abyssinia, and a couple of thousand Bushmen still lingering in the western part of the Kalahari Desert, or in southernmost Angola. But the 'backward' peoples of Africa range from the south of Morocco, Algeria, Tunis and Egypt over the whole rest of Africa, except those portions of Cape Colony, Damaraland, Natal, the

¹ With this fact in mind Dowd ("The Negro Races," Vol. II), offers a grotesque, but nevertheless suggestive idea when he divides Africa into several different zones according to the principal means of subsistence in each, and the predominant industry derived therefrom. Thus he speaks of the goat zone, the northern cattle zone, the forest zone, the eleusine zone, banana zone, manioc zone and the southern cattle zone.

Transvaal, Orange State, Lower Moçambique and Rhodesia inhabited by white people."²

One of the earliest cases of direct contact of the negro races with white culture seems to have occurred around 520 B.C., when Hanno visited the Carthaginian trading colonies along the north and west coasts of Morocco, then proceeded to the mouth of the Senegal and passed the highlands of French Africa. Whether this first recorded association between the civilized Semite and the black savages was followed by a more or less unrestricted intercourse which has continued down to the present time is open to doubt.³ The Roman Empire seems to have touched the tropics at one point only—in upper Egypt; consequently the Romans never dealt with the natives and the problems of the tropics. For a short period beginning in the fifth century the Vandals gained a vantage point in northern Africa, but it was not until the sweeping advance of the Arabs some two hundred years later that contact with a race of a superior culture left any lasting effects upon the primitive peoples.

The Arab conquest embraced all of the northern Africans with such exceptions as the Abyssinians and the Copts of Egypt. Arab mores were firmly planted in this region, and Mohammedanism took such firm root that down to the present this area has remained solidified against Christian Europe.⁴ By 950 (approximately) Arabian influence had reached the mouth of the Senegal, and traveling eastward had touched the region of the Niger. Through Egypt the militant Arabs invaded Nubia and Darfur and thence attained Lake Chad and the upper Niger. The actual invasion was preceded by a great religious movement of Nubians, Songhais and Libyan Tawareq who had been converted to Islam.⁵

On the eastern coast of Africa Arabs had lived and traded for well over a thousand years. It was not until the sixteenth century, however, that they traveled far inland, impelled by the lucrative slave trade to supply boys for eunuchs and girls for concubines to fill the harems of Egypt, Arabia and Persia. These adventurers founded trading colonies in such populous centers as Uganda, Rhodesia, the Congo and around Lake Tanganyika.⁶

The foremost causes producing European contact with the black races of Africa were, no doubt, the passing into Moslem hands of the direct

² Johnston, Sir H. H., "The Backward Peoples and Our Relations with Them,"

p. 35.

³ Johnston, Sir H. H., "Liberia," I, 19-21.

⁴ Lucas, Sir Chas., "The Partition and Colonization of Africa," pp. 21-9.

⁵ Johnston, Sir H. H., "Liberia," I, 33.

⁶ Campbell, Dugald, "In the Heart of Bantuland," p. 254.

route to the Orient and the resulting inability to get pepper and spices from the East. Another incentive of major importance is to be seen in the adventurous crusading spirit of the age. Indeed, this became a dominant motive when the economic advantages of trade were appended to it. Prince Henry the Navigator was the moving spirit in Portuguese exploration on the west coast of Africa. His ships discovered Madeira in 1420, and later the Azores and Cape Verde. In 1445 the Senegal was reached, and soon after the Gambia.⁷

The early Portuguese at first used to take every opportunity of kidnapping the Moors and dispatching them as slaves to Portugal. Prince Henry, exhibiting a certain degree of humanitarianism toward the people of a country which he wished to pacify and colonize, ordered that the Moors should be allowed to ransom themselves. One Moor, a nobleman by birth, offered among other things a number of negroes as ransom.

The Portuguese learned in this way that by continuing their journeys farther south they might come to a land where it was possible to obtain "black Moors" as slaves.⁸ This circumstance, together with the fact that some explorers had come across gold dust, encouraged the Portuguese to extend their discoveries.⁹ To them the conversion of the heathen, especially the negro who proved so much more amenable to salvation than the Mohammedan, furnished another convincing argument for further exploration and the extension of the slave trade. Thus in 1454, Pope Nicholas V gave Portugal the right to subjugate western Africa, supposed to be lands which belonged to the Saracens, and "to reduce the persons of those lands to perpetual servitude," in the hope that the negroes would be thoroughly converted.¹⁰

The Portuguese picked up negroes by purchase from the Mandingo chiefs of Senegambia, and by kidnapping them occasionally on the coast of Sierra Leone and Liberia. They traded for them along the Gold Coast, the Congo and the Angola countries. Most of the slaves were sent to Portugal where they were regarded more or less as curiosities. Great care was taken to have them baptized and even to a certain extent educated.¹¹ The Portuguese were not slow to realize the value of the slave trade. Before the discovery of America slaves were brought to Lisbon by the hundreds; after the discovery the hundreds became thousands, for the negroes were shipped to America via Lisbon and not directly.¹²

⁷ Lucas, Sir Chas., "The Partition and Colonization of Africa," pp. 28, 33.

⁸ Johnston, Sir H. H., "Liberia," I, 105.

⁹ Anderson, Adam, "History of Commerce," I, 464.

¹⁰ Sumner, W. G., "Folkways," p. 299. ¹¹ Johnston, Sir H. H., "Liberia," I, 106.

¹² Lucas, Sir Chas., "The Partition and Colonization of Africa," p. 44.

The cupidity of the Portuguese for the precious metals was of scarcely less importance than slavery in furthering race contact. The earliest settlements consisted of military stations which were expected to serve as centers for the acquisition of the precious metals from the natives. Thus Leo Africanus informs us "Upon the Kingdome of Congo confineth Angola, with whose prince of later years Paulo Dias a Portugall captaine made war: and the principall occasion of this warre are certain mines of silver, in the mountains of Cambambe, no whit inferior to those of Potossi, but by so much are they better, as fine silver goeth beyond that which is base, and coarse." The Portuguese also, according to Africanus, obtained considerable gold through trade with the peoples of Guinea and Libya.¹³ The Portuguese of the sixteenth century were, however, unable to compete successfully against the Arabs in dealing with the native peoples. The Arabs succeeded in carrying off the greater portion of the gold and ivory with which the natives could be induced to part. The reason was that the Arab sought out the native markets, whereas the Portuguese expected the natives to come to their factories.¹⁴

The great gains of the Portuguese from their acquisition of the precious metals and the profits of the slave trade could not fail to attract adventurers from other lands. The first to dispute the monopoly of the Portuguese to the trade of the west coast of Africa were the English. The English began to trade to the Guinea coast as early as 1536, one of the first voyages producing over one hundred pounds of gold dust, elephants' teeth and other native commodities. Nevertheless the English erected no forts or trading stations until long after this time.¹⁵ The earliest English contact with the natives of Africa was for the purpose of legitimate trade, but the growing wealth and the extended commerce of the Spanish and Portuguese soon acted as a lure to the increase of English freebooters who, without direct opposition of the crown, took advantage of every opportunity to invade Spanish and Portuguese spheres. One of the most famous of these Englishmen, Sir John Hawkins, engaged in a prosperous trade in slaves. His method of contact with the natives followed the usual course of the day. "At Sierra Leone he formed an alliance with an African tribe, then at war with their neighbors; sacked a densely peopled town, was rewarded with as many prisoners as his ships could carry, and in the Spring of the following year found himself among the Spanish settlements conducting a business fully answering his most glittering hopes."¹⁶

¹³ Africanus, Leo, "The History and Description of Africa" (Hakluyt), III, 998.

¹⁴ Maugham, R. C. F., "Zambezia," p. 23.

¹⁵ Anderson, Adam, "History of Commerce," II, 62.

¹⁶ Lindsay, W. S., "History of Merchant Shipping and Ancient Commerce," II, 130.

The earliest organized English trade to Africa arose with the African Company which was first incorporated in 1631. The company was originally occupied in a legitimate trade in gold and ivory with the inhabitants of the Guinea coast. The ships first sent to Gambia refused to buy negro women offered for sale by a negro on the ground that Englishmen did not buy and sell "any that had our own shapes."¹⁷ It was not long, however, before the greatest energy was directed to the more lucrative slave trade, in which the company enjoyed a monopoly until 1698 when an act of Parliament threw open the trade to all British subjects. The Royal African Company built forts at various places on the Gold Coast and at Whyda on the coast of Dahomey.¹⁸

That the attitude of the English was not always one of merely superficial exploitation, but looked forward rather to permanent colonization even at this early date, can be seen from some of the accounts given of Madagascar by voyagers and other writers, in which the imagination seems to run wild in describing the resources and wealth of the island and its suitability for English colonization. In fact a colonization project was soon set on foot, though it never materialized because of unexpected political conditions.¹⁹

In summing up the influences which brought about European contact with the natives of Africa, we note that practically all were economic in nature—chiefly the desire to attain a new route to the East Indies, and, failing that, to exploit the continent for its gold and silver, pepper, ivory, slaves and other riches. In few cases do we find scientific exploration and discovery the cause of early contact as in the Pacific Islands. Religion played a minor rôle in stimulating contact by European peoples, and was most in evidence among the Portuguese in the early days; later, with the coming of English and French missionaries, it took on a more important

¹⁷ Lucas, Sir Chas., "The Partition and Colonization of Africa," p. 50.

¹⁸ Johnston, Sir H. H., "The Colonization of Africa," p. 109. Lindsay, W. S., "History of Merchant Shipping and Ancient Commerce," II, 203-4.

¹⁹ Sibree, Jas., "Madagascar," pp. 6, 8, 11, 12.

Note: Sibree quotes a poem by W. Davenport Knight written in 1648 which shows clearly the feeling of the age with respect to exploitation.

"In virgin mines, where shining gold they spy,
Some root up coral trees, where mermaids lie
Sighing beneath those precious boughs, and die."

Some from "old oysters" rifle pearls,

"Whose ponderous size sinks weaker divers;
Their weight would yoke a tender lady's neck."

Some

"Search the rocks till each have found
A saphyr, ruby, and a diamond."

aspect. With the Arabs religion was of even greater consequence, but, as in the foregoing cases, was secondary to economic motives.

Unlike the Polynesians and Australians, most of the African races were well acquainted with trade in some manner or other. Conditions favored internal intercommunication to a much greater degree than in the Pacific regions. The vast extent of the African continent and the gradations of climate and temperature produced a wide variety of natural products, some indigenous to the tropics, others to the temperate zone, whereas in the Pacific Islands we find a general likeness of fauna and flora which, even with means of intercommunication, would not be conducive to intergroup trade. Furthermore, the opportunities offered to the native races of Africa for indigenous culture and intergroup specialization of labor must not be disregarded. Thus, we observe some tribes specialized in the manufacture of cotton goods, others in iron work; some societies were primarily agricultural, others pastoral, and in the forests many groups were to be found on the most primitive hunting stage. With these facts in mind one may expect to find trade and commerce in various phases of evolution at the time of the first meeting with the Caucasian groups.

The most primitive form of peaceful exchange was that by means of reciprocal gifts. It had become a customary mode of trade among many of the native races of Africa. Thus Mungo Park writes, "Presented Mansa Kussan [the chief man of Julifunda] with some amber, coral, and scarlet, with which he appeared to be perfectly satisfied, and sent a bullock in return."²⁰ Whether or not exchange by mutual gifts arose out of efforts to propitiate, as Spencer alleges, the fact remains that the responsive present should have a value approximately equal to the original one: there existed a crude valuation process in the minds of the aborigines. The Bihénos refused to sell anything to the European, but according to custom made a present of it, and in return extorted as much as they could until European travelers found it necessary to refuse all presents.²¹ In the countries of the Sudan the constant giving of presents as a means of trade had become so well established that the natives declined to deal with the whites in any other manner, the donors soon learning that a departure from their old custom of gifts to one of direct barter was not profitable, owing to the liberality of the European in the first case.²²

Dumb-barter or silent trade represents a step beyond the mutual exchange of gifts in that there is an evaluation by the traders on both sides.

²⁰ Park, Mungo, "A Journal of a Mission to the Interior of Africa," pp. 160-1.

²¹ Capello, H., and Ivens, R., "From Benguela to the Territory of Yacca," I, 116.

²² Bucher, Carl, "Industrial Evolution," pp. 63-4.

Further, it is a trading relationship which first arises with members of the "out-group." It is the most primitive type of foreign trade as concerns the tribe or clan, and usually occurs where one of the parties represents a relatively high, and the other a relatively low, type of culture. It has been suggested that this is a method adopted by travelers belonging to civilized peoples to open commercial relations with savages who shun their approach.²³ It is probable that silent trade with the members of outside groups arose "from a sense of personal insecurity, and has fetish in it, the natives holding it safer to leave so dangerous a thing as trafficking with unknown beings—white things that were most likely spirits, with the smell of death upon them—in the hands of their gods."²⁴ Claude Jannequin, *Sieur de Rochfort*, quoted by Miss Kingsley, describes the system of dumb-barter in West Africa in 1639, "'In this cursed country there is no provision but fish dried in the sun, and maize and tobacco.' The natives will only trade by the French laying down on the ground what they would give for the provisions, and then going away, on which the natives came and took the commodities and left the fish in exchange."²⁵ The pigmy race of the Batuas or Akkas, living on the stage of the lower nomads, carried on all their exchanges with outsiders by means of dumb-barter.²⁶ Silent trade was found to exist in many parts of Guinea, especially in regions well away from Europeanized settlements. That the natives had some concept of the value of the goods offered for sale is evident from the fact that against each class of articles so many cowrie shells or beans were placed to indicate the price.²⁷

There are but few cases of African tribes which appeared totally unused to barter or exchange at the time of the white man's arrival. It seems that the Bushmen had little or no notion of commercial exchange; the idea appeared absurd to them. The Hottentots, though farther advanced in most ways, were on the same plane as the Bushmen with respect to exchange. But once the concept had been gained, they quickly adapted themselves to it. Furthermore, the Hottentots were not devoid of resources for developing trade; they had their flocks and herds; they knew how to prepare and preserve the hides, manufacture pottery, forge iron and even shape and polish bracelets made of ivory.²⁸ Even when, however, the benefits of trade are patent to the aborigines they seem unable to take

²³ Grierson, P. J. H., "The Silent Trade," p. 63.

²⁴ Kingsley, Mary H., "West African Studies," p. 249.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

²⁶ Junker, W., "Travels in Africa," III, 6, 85.

²⁷ Kingsley, Mary H., "West African Studies," p. 248. Miss Kingsley gives a number of additional examples of silent trade occurring in West Africa, pp. 241-7.

²⁸ Letourneau, Ch., "L'évolution du commerce," pp. 39-40.

advantage of the situation and to provide themselves with sufficient quantities of their own native products, which may be had with a little exertion, in order to build up a profitable trade. Their lack of foresight tends to put them in a disadvantageous position when dealing with foreign peoples, and not having the necessary price good, they tend to appropriate from the whites whatever they can. The upshot of their commercial contact with the whites is, according to Letourneau's stock view, the moral depravity of the aborigines.²⁹

Wholesale and retail trade carried on for profit by the native races is largely a product of contact with civilized nations. The vague ideas of property rights in the individual, coupled with the usual tenets of tribal property, served to hold back the development of the mercantile professions. Bücher says "trade in the sense in which it is regarded by national economy—that is, in the sense of the systematic purchase of wares with one object of a profitable resale as an organized vocation—can nowhere be discovered among primitive peoples. Where we meet native traders in Africa, it is a question either of intermediary activity prompted by European and barbarian merchants, or of occurrence peculiar to the semi-civilization of the Soudan. Otherwise the only exchange known to the natives everywhere is exchange from tribe to tribe. This is due to the unequal distribution of the gifts of nature and to the varying development of industrial technique among the different tribes."³⁰ That exchange from tribe to tribe took place is evident from the fact that English wares deposited at Mombas, on the eastern side of South Africa, have been recognized at Mogador, on the west coast of Northern Africa.³¹

Regardless of the fact that there existed indigenous products of such a nature that they formed a natural basis of trade among the blacks, commerce in the modern economic sense scarcely existed before contact with advanced races. This is because such products as had become the backbone of trade among Europeans had little or no use in the primitive economy. The native races in their primitive condition are influenced by few needs, that is, those things which are requisite for the maintenance of the standard of living, if we may term it such, to which they are accustomed. Trade does not supply those needs because the materials for native existence are ready at hand in the vegetable and animal life of the forest and plain. Not until the needs of the native have been multiplied and made more complex by the spread of civilization will the trader be able

²⁹ Letourneau, Chas., "L'évolution du commerce," pp. 41-3.

³⁰ Bücher, Carl, "Industrial Evolution," p. 60.

³¹ Waitz, Theodor, "Anthropologie der Naturvölker," II, 101.

to undertake the beneficent rôle of supplying needs as distinct from wants, which we may take to represent desires for things in no wise essential to the prevailing life standards of the aborigines. Wants develop trade with savages—not needs. Wants have to be created by the traders or companies in order to persuade the natives to bring down the natural products of the country to the coast. Existing wants have to be quickened. Thus the native peoples wanted firearms in order to slay more quickly, and to enslave each other. They wanted distilled spirits because European alcohol gratified their love of strong drink more fully than native liquor.³² Miss Kingsley strikes the same keynote when she speaks of West Africa. "There is not a single thing Europe can sell to the natives that is of the nature of a true necessity, a thing the natives must have or starve. There is but one thing that even approaches in the West African markets to what wheat is in our own—that thing is tobacco."³³

Where needs are few and well supplied by nature, and where contact is unable to beget new wants owing to the extreme conservatism or to the aloofness of some tribes, particularly nomads, trade develops very slowly. The first Europeans found but few spurs to trade and intercourse among the Hottentots. They had regard for cattle, sheep and ivory only—occasionally parting with cattle for the tobacco of the Dutch and English, and sometimes disposing of ivory which they had collected.³⁴ The natives of the German colonies did not present a profitable market for the Teuton's wares. The native peoples either had little to give in exchange for European goods, or their needs were so few and their improvidence so great that they did not take advantage of the resources at hand. The Herero clung with religious zeal to their one form of wealth, cattle, and would never part with an animal unless it was old, sick, or bewitched. Cattle had greater attractions for them than the lure of German trade goods. Contact with the whites did develop a few wants, powder, guns and alcohol, a demand which the government was unwilling to supply.³⁵

The African peoples seemed to have a much better grasp of relative values in trade than did the Polynesians and Australians. This is but natural when it is remembered that intergroup exchanges were fairly well developed, some industrial specialization had already taken place, and a large number of African tribes had been in contact with Arab traders for long periods, as well as with native negro traders who had adopted the culture and religion of their Mohammedan preceptors.

³² MacDonald, A. J., "Trade, Politics and Christianity in Africa and the East," pp. 4-6. ³³ Kingsley, Mary H., "West African Studies," p. 339.

³⁴ Ratzel, Friedrich, "Völkerkunde," I, 703.

³⁵ Keller, A. G., "Colonization," p. 568.

As with all primitive peoples, the trade goods which found the readiest market among the African tribes were those that appealed to the vanity of the person. Thus beads, blankets, red caps, blue and red coral, gloves and the like usually commanded a ready sale. That the Arab and the white trader took every advantage of the ignorant savage in bartering trinkets and trifles for valuable commodities is so well known that it would be useless to cite examples. The fact is that as long as the savage can be kept in ignorance as to the foreign trader's valuation of native commodities, as long as the trader can maintain a seller's market in which the natives are bidding for his trade goods, and as long as other dealers are kept out of the field, so long will the aborigines exchange goods of great value for worthless baubles. But as soon as competition arises on the part of white or Arab traders, and the quantity of trade goods increases, the transactions lose their one-sidedness and unfair appearance,⁸⁶ as is evident from Barbot's remark on the Gold Coast trade:

"The blacks, having traded with Europeans ever since the fourteenth century, are very well skilled in the proper qualities of all European wares and merchandise vended there; but in a more particular manner since they have so often been imposed on by the European, who in former ages made no scruple to cheat them in the quality, weight, and measures of their goods, which at first they received upon content, because they say it would never enter into their thoughts that white men were so base to abuse their credulity. . . . But now they are perpetually on their guard in that particular, examine and search very narrowly all our merchandise, piece by piece, to see each the quality and measure contracted for by samples; for instance if the cloth is well made and strong—if the knives be not rusty—if the basins, kettles and other utensils of brass and pewter are not cracked or otherwise faulty, or strong enough at the bottom . . . taste and prove brandy, rum or other liquors, and will presently discover whether it is not adulterated with fresh or salt water or any other mixture."⁸⁷

The savage's understanding of elementary economic principles is very limited. The ivory market in the Congo illustrates this fact very well. During the war there was very little demand for ivory because it was a luxury. With peace came a big demand, the price soaring to more than 200 francs a kilo, whereas the ordinary price is about forty. For a few months this condition lasted, then came the inevitable reaction and with it a unique situation. "In their mad desire to corral ivory the traders ran up the normal price that the native hunters received. The moment the boom burst the white buyers sought to regulate their purchases accord-

⁸⁶ Lindsay, W. S., "History of Merchant Shipping and Ancient Commerce," I, 23.

⁸⁷ Quoted by Kingsley, Mary H., "West African Studies," pp. 622-3.

ingly. The native, however, knows nothing about the law of demand and supply and he holds out for the boom price. The outcome is that hundreds of tons of ivory are piled up in the villages and no power on earth can convince the savage that there is such a thing as the ebb and flow of price."³⁸

Place value is no more readily understood by the African than time value. Thus the natives in the neighborhood of Blantyre Mission demanded the same price in the interior that they were accustomed to receiving at the coast. They would rather transport all their goods to the coast stations than to sell it for a trifle less and be spared the burden of carrying it great distances.³⁹

"A thing that the ordinary native cannot understand is that the farther you go inland, the dearer will be the articles imported, such as calico etc. I have often heard natives complain bitterly that the shops of Nairobi are more expensive than those of Mombasa, and those of Entebbe than Nairobi, and so on.

"Commenting on this to a shrewd trader in Nyasaland, he said that natives often complained to him that they could get calico at 4 d. a yard at Blantyre, about five days' distance, whereas he charged them 5 d. To have said, 'All right, you go down to Blantyre and buy your calico,' would not have convinced the native at all that it was not an exorbitant charge. He would think nothing of going down ten days to expend 8 d. on two yards of calico. Time is not money to the African.

"'But lor' bless 'ee,' said the trader, 'there are always means of explaining to the native. I say all right, you go and hunk me up a load of calico from Blantyre for nothing, and I will then sell you as many yards as you like for 4 d.' This argument was self-convincing."⁴⁰

In course of time, however, some blacks come to recognize the difference in value of commodities according to place. The Congo River native is perhaps the shrewdest in all Central Africa and knows very well indeed that some commodities can be procured for little or nothing where plentiful, and disposed of for a considerable profit at population centers. That explains why the Bangalas take positions as firemen and woodboys on the river boats; they want to go into business. They acquire considerable stores of food, palm oil and dried fish at the various stops made by the steamers while in the interior, and dispose of them with great gain at the end of the journey.⁴¹

³⁸ Marcossion, Isaac F., "An African Adventure," p. 180.

³⁹ MacDonald, Duff, "Africana," II, 144.

⁴⁰ Stigand, C. H., "Hunting the Elephant in Africa," pp. 280-1.

⁴¹ Marcossion, Isaac F., "An African Adventure," pp. 196-7.

Mungo Park observed that some of the negro peoples whom he visited could not understand the eagerness of the Europeans for ivory. Shown ivory handles on knives, combs, toys and the like, they could see that the handles were of ivory—but why build ships and undertake voyages to procure an article which had no other value than for furnishing handles to knives and other objects when wood would answer the purpose equally well? They were quite convinced that ivory was used for some secret or magic processes which were concealed from them lest the price of ivory should go way up.⁴²

Although exchange by means of reciprocal gifts still persisted in parts of Africa, most of the tribes at the time of early contact with the European races appeared to be on the stage of a barter economy. Books of travel in Africa abound with illustrations of the difficulties to be met with where no medium of exchange exists. In Kúkawa,

"A small farmer who brings his corn to the Monday market . . . will on no account take his payment in shells, and will rarely accept of a dollar; the person therefore who wishes to buy corn, if he has only dollars must first exchange a dollar for shells, or rather buy shells; then with the shells he must buy a *Kúlgú* or shirt; and after a good deal of bartering he may succeed in buying the corn."⁴³

Cameron encountered the same roundabout method of trade at Kawele where he desired to hire a canoe and the owner wished to be paid in ivory.⁴⁴ And similarly, a recent case in Abyssinia is cited by Harlan:

"At the Makfud market I selected twelve samples of grain and sacked them. They weighed only a couple of ounces each, and when I offered one tomaun (fractional currency, sixteen of which are supposed to be worth one thaler, but in reality eight to eleven per thaler according to scarcity) each, I was offering a great many times their value. My offer was refused. The owners wanted cotton, that being the medium of exchange here.

"I saw a native merchant from Addis Ababa buying cotton. I knew he would take tomauns, so I purchased from him one tomaun's worth of cotton and with that cotton purchased my twelve samples. Strange to say, those of whom I had purchased grain did not resent my offering them in cotton the twelfth part of my first offer, but seemed, on the contrary, quite pleased."⁴⁵

Certain tribes seemed to have passed beyond the crude stage of barter and to have adopted a common medium of exchange which served within

⁴² Park, Mungo, "Travels," pp. 456-7.

⁴³ Barth, H., "Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa," II, 55-6.

⁴⁴ Cameron, Commander V. L., "Across Africa," p. 177.

⁴⁵ Harlan, H. V., "A Caravan Journey Through Abyssinia," in the National Geographic Magazine, vol. XLVIII (June, 1925), p. 636.

the tribe, sometimes within a larger radius. Salt in bars of definite size constituted money on the West Coast of Africa;⁴⁶ rock salt cut into bars of eight or nine inches in length and an inch thick, taken from a deposit in the Quissama country, served the same purpose not only on the river but far in the interior.⁴⁷ Salt is still widely used for minor payments in Abyssinia, four bars of native salt being equivalent to one thaler.⁴⁸ The Latoukas preferred salt currency. So common was salt as a means of exchange in Africa that the expression, "a salt eater," was used to designate a rich man.⁴⁹ Letourneau compares salt to our gold coin, and the cowrie shell, used so much as a medium of exchange, to our subsidiary coinage.⁵⁰

In spite of the fact that we can point to numerous commodities used as money, there is no evidence of any African people, in the absence of European influence, attaining to a currency or legal medium of payment for obligations of every kind and extent. It is rather the rule that the various species of money remain in concurrent circulation and often obligations can be paid only in certain kinds.⁵¹

Park describes the influence of European contact in developing a common medium of exchange in Gambia. "In their early intercourse with Europeans the article that attracted the most notice was iron. Its utility in forming the instruments of war and husbandry made it preferable to all others; and iron soon became the measure by which the value of all other commodities was ascertained. Thus a certain quantity of goods of whatever denomination appearing to be equal in value to a bar of iron, constituted in the trader's phraseology a bar of that particular merchandise." Accordingly a bar of tobacco was twenty leaves, a bar of rum, one gallon of spirits. The English for their own convenience in course of time fixed a bar at two shillings sterling.⁵² The bar thus became an imaginary circulating medium for both English and natives, but the price of any commodity in bars might vary upon different parts of the coast.⁵³

In much the same way the "peça" or "long" was adopted as the unit of exchange between the river Congo and Ambriz. All produce except ivory

⁴⁶ Lippert, Julius, "Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit," I, 620.

⁴⁷ Monteiro, J. J., "Angola and the River Congo," pp. 247-8.

⁴⁸ Harlan, H. V., "A Caravan Journey Through Abyssinia," in the National Geographic Magazine, vol. XLVIII (June, 1925), p. 636.

⁴⁹ Annales de la propagation de la foi, 1888. (Quoted by Letourneau, Ch., "L'évolution de la propriété," pp. 468-9.)

⁵⁰ Letourneau, Ch., "L'évolution de la propriété," pp. 468-9.

⁵¹ Bücher, Carl, "Industrial Evolution," p. 69.

⁵² Park, Mungo, "Travels," p. 39.

⁵³ Howison, John, "Views of the Colonies," I, 122.

was purchased or sold by this unit: for instance six yards of the ordinary kinds of cotton cloth, such as unbleached calico, blue prints, cotton checks, were equal to a "long"; a yard and a half of blue or baize, five bottles of rum, five brass rods, one cotton umbrella, 3000 blue glass beads, three, six, eight, or twelve cotton handkerchiefs, according to size and quality, were also severally equal to a "long"; while articles of greater value such as kegs of powder, guns, and knives were equal to two or more "longs" each.⁵⁴

It is apparent from the above examples that commercial contact of native peoples with members of advanced races soon results in the adoption of some highly desired article as a medium of exchange and a measure of value, and that even where such an article no longer holds the popular esteem, the monetary system evolved therefrom tends to continue. The clumsiness and the handicaps of exchange by gift and barter become evident, and the advantages of a common denominator to express values are not lost upon the native mind. The tests are immediate, and the savage does not show his traditional conservatism in resisting an innovation which proves of such great help in satisfying his wants.

Another practice, which owed its development more or less to the commercial contact of civilized traders and travelers with the blacks, was the establishment of a system of public revenue which was based upon the chief's or in some cases the tribal right to interfere with goods or persons passing through native territory. This right or prerogative undoubtedly originated, as Spencer suggests, in the making of propitiatory gifts to the chief as an acknowledgment of inferiority. It was tribute exacted at infrequent intervals. In course of time the chief came to look upon tribute or propitiatory presents as his due, and, where power was not lacking, he did not hesitate to enforce the collection of his claims. This would naturally occur when the subject is at the native chief's mercy, either because he is exposing commodities for sale where they can readily be found and a share taken, or he is transferring them from one part of the territory to another and can easily be stopped and a portion seized; or when the merchant is bringing goods into the territory and it is not difficult for the chief to lay hands upon such merchandise.⁵⁵

Commerce carried on by individual traders was quite unusual before contact with the advanced races. There was rather an exchange of specialties group-wise. With the coming of the Arab and the white man conditions changed, for now the traders did not represent a neighboring

⁵⁴ Monteiro, J. J., "Angola and the River Congo," pp. 59-60.

⁵⁵ Spencer, Herbert, "Principles of Sociology," II, 564-6.

tribe of equal power, but straggling parties of whites or Arabs who were completely in the chief's power. Gifts offered to gain the chief's good will and to prevent complete confiscation of goods became the rule.⁵⁶ Thus we have a tariff or customs evolving as a consequence of contact.⁵⁷ The Bari tribe, whenever opportunity presented itself, demanded beads or other goods of traders' parties as a tax for the right of passing through the country.⁵⁸ The order of questions asked by the Zulu chief, Dingan, of the missionary or trader was usually: first as to his health, then as to his purpose in traveling in those regions, and finally, what gifts he brought.⁵⁹ Baker was forced to pay tribute or tax to Legge, the chief of Ellyria, for passing through his country. The chief inspected the traveler's luggage and then demanded fifteen heavy copper bracelets and a large quantity of beads.⁶⁰ It was the custom of the Masai to exact "hongo" or tribute from any person passing through their territory, the amount being assessed by themselves. This tax was supposed to ensure the payer from molestation by the Masai either within or without their territory.⁶¹

In some regions favorably situated the native princes were ever ready to invent pretexts for increasing the tariffs or customs levied by them. Sometimes, if their demands were not complied with, they would shut up the passes of the country and altogether prevent any traffic with the interior, a measure which, if long persisted in, generally proved ruinous to the factories on the coast. Frequently, when this newly found revenue proved inadequate, chiefs would purposely foment quarrels with European residents for the sole purpose of forcing them to purchase a reconciliation by presents, especially if a number of foreign nations possessed establishments in their country; in this case they would be encouraged to act in such a manner, for if they quarreled with one they had no difficulty in opening a trade with the neighbor on equally advantageous terms.⁶²

Livingstone gives us a different angle on the development of customs and fines for passage. He points out that in many regions the aborigines were unacquainted with any traders other than those engaged in purchasing slaves, and that the traders were always at the mercy of the chiefs through whose country they were passing. The chief, if he desired, could give asylum to the captive slaves and strip the traders of their property. Conse-

⁵⁶ Bücher, Carl, "Industrial Evolution," pp. 79-80.

⁵⁷ Letourneau, Ch., "L'évolution du commerce," p. 84.

⁵⁸ Baker, Sir S. W., "The Albert Nyanza or the Great Basin of the Nile," pp. 63-4.

⁵⁹ Ratzel, Friedrich, "Völkerkunde," II, 119.

⁶⁰ Baker, Sir S. W., "The Albert Nyanza or the Great Basin of the Nile," pp.

119-20.

⁶¹ Wilson, Capt. H. A., "A British Borderland," pp. 262-3.

⁶² Howison, John, "Views of the Colonies," I, 110-1.

quently the latter were obliged to curry favor with the chiefs and purchase a safe conduct from them and this became customary. Livingstone further shows the connection between the slave trade and fines for passage when he points out that in regions exempt from the slave trade the aborigines never thought of demanding fees for merely passing through the country; they claimed no ownership in land not needed for pasturage or tillage.⁸⁸

By way of summary, contact with the white races has been largely responsible for the development of modern commercial practices among the natives of Africa. Practically all the native tribes were acquainted with trade in some form or other, but the methods of exchange were of the most elementary form. Commercial intercourse has tended to sharpen the native concept of value. But, among those peoples not coming in frequent contact with Europeans and Arabs, differences in place or time do not seem to affect the valuation which they place upon their products; they will ask the same price when the market is glutted as prevailed when there was great scarcity, and they will travel long distances at considerable cost of time and energy to save a small sum on their purchases. Contact was also an important factor in introducing the native African to the need, and to the advantages, of a money economy as a medium of exchange and a measure of value. Likewise, the presence of isolated Arab and European traders, more or less in the power of African chieftains, offered special opportunities to crystallize the idea of customs on goods and fines for right of passage as a means of public revenue for the chief or tribe.

⁸⁸ Livingstone, D., "Travels and Researches in Africa," pp. 379-80.

CHAPTER XXII

CIVILIZATION AND NATIVE CHARACTER

The oft-repeated complaint that civilization has destroyed the virtues and ruined the character of primitive man is commonly heard with reference to the African native. The reader has already noted what degree of truth there is in such opinions respecting the primitive races of Australasia and America. Now we shall see if there is any great measure of difference with regard to the native races of Africa which represent a somewhat higher culture.

It is a common observation of travelers in Africa that the negro is prone to lie and deceive, so much so that it seems to be an essential part of his make-up. Whether the matter is of little moment or of absolute indifference, he is apt to go out of his way to pronounce a falsehood.¹ The Seræ are spoken of as generally truthful, making good honest servants and brave soldiers. Munzinger compares them with their neighbors in Tigré where, he informs us, contact with merchant people has destroyed all morality and probity.² Waitz likewise is of the opinion that contact with the white race has resulted in the negro distrusting the former, and thus finds a justification for this habit.³ Other explanations may, however, be more to the point. The negro does not distinguish clearly between a fact of experience and an idea conveyed in the mind. Like children the savage people believe that something really has happened which they have only imagined. An amusing explanation which has been offered is to the effect that lying is one of the traits developed in the hunting stage. Deception was so necessary for survival in this state that it became second nature and, when life conditions changed, that trait persisted more or less and was naturally carried over into the savage's relations with his fellow men. It has also been suggested that political conditions occurring in some sections fostered the propensity to deceit. Thus in Dahomey and Ashanti despotism and oppression weighed so heavily upon the people that they acquired in course of time the habit of concealing their property and

¹ Ellis, A. B., "The Ewe-Speaking Peoples," p. 11.

² Munzinger, W., "Ostafrikanische Studien," p. 386.

³ Waitz, Theodor, "Anthropologie der Naturvölker," II, 257.

pretending that they had nothing when they had plenty. Thus a certain caution, indirection and deception was necessary to maintain existence.⁴

In all the above explanations, however, with the exception of the last one, where peculiar conditions prevailed, no observation is made as to whether the mores of the group tolerated deception and falsehood when applied to members of that particular society, or whether it is only a custom which applies to non-members of the group. That the latter is the case is more or less evident from the fact that many of the earlier travelers, who represented the first contactual relationship of the blacks with the whites, were received and treated as members of the "in-group" and some went through the ceremony of blood-brotherhood. These men were treated very differently from those who subsequently followed them in greater numbers as traders, slavers, missionaries, and government agents. They were soon regarded as any other foreign group, and the negroes exhibited an entirely different code of mores in their relations with them. Thus so many of the later writers stress the cunning, the deceit and lack of veracity among the African natives.

It is particularly in trade relations with the primitive peoples of Africa that we find their vices emphasized, but always with the conduct approved within our own group as the criterion of judgment. The foremost of these undesirable propensities are mendicancy, dishonesty and theft.

The Waregga forest people, says Sharpe, are happy and friendly, and as yet unspoilt by contact with civilization, but they are great beggars. Once it was known that Sharpe had dressed some sores on a native's leg, scores of savages came with the most varied complaints, until a scheme was devised whereby anyone desiring medical treatment must bring some food offering. The system worked well and immediately reduced the number of applicants.⁵ Begging, Livingstone asserts, was to be found mostly on the confines of civilization.⁶

Many examples of a keen sense of honesty in various African races are to be found, but very frequently there is appended the statement that they were not yet soiled with the contact of civilization. The natives of Madagascar are pictured in a book of the seventeenth century as most honest and trustworthy: "in all our trading with them we never sustained so much as the losse of one bead," and again, "they retain the first incorrupt innocence of man," and are "a people approaching in some degree neere Adam, naked without guilt, and innocent, not by a forc't virtue, but

⁴Dowd, J., "The Negro Races" I, 392-3.

⁵Sharpe, Sir Alfred, "The Kivu Country," in *Royal Geographic Journal*, vol. XLVII (Jan., 1916), p. 25.

⁶Livingstone, D., "Travels and Researches in Africa," p. 644.

by ignorance of will, and the creatures as innocent and serviceable to man as they were before his transgression."⁷ Among the Serae housebreaking is rare and abhorred, but among their neighbors where contact has taken place more regularly it is a common thing.⁸ Of the Bubé in his natural and unsophisticated state Burton gives a favorable, if not exaggerated account when he says, "Brightest of all is his moral character: you may safely deposit rum and tobacco,—that is to say, gold and silver—in his street, and he will pay his debt as surely as the Bank of England."⁹ The Bushmen were frequently given charge of flocks which the white farmers, who did not possess slaves, could not attend to. The natives proved such faithful shepherds that the farmers did not hesitate to give them some hundreds of ewes and other cattle to sojourn with beyond the limits of the colony in grassy spots well known to the savages. After an absence of several months they would return with the cattle in so much an improved state that the farmer could hardly recognize they were the same animals he had given in charge to the Bushmen. Facts of this kind are cases to prove not only the individual honesty, but the tribal honesty of this primitive folk.¹⁰

The Shillooks, although sharp traders, astonished Baker by their honesty and fair dealing.¹¹ The Zulus of Natal are found to be exceptionally honest,¹² and the Bahima¹³ and some of the Masai enjoy the same distinction. The Wa-jnemps are singularly honest and reliable, so much so that valuable goods and equally valuable food may be left in their charge with the utmost confidence.¹⁴ The Feloops, observes Park, "display the utmost gratitude and affection toward their benefactors; and the fidelity with which they preserve whatever is intrusted to them is remarkable."¹⁵

If we now turn to cases cited where the blacks are pictured as lazy, dishonest, untrustworthy, and arrant thieves we find an endless number. Barbot mentions that the frauds practised by the European traders made the West Africans suspicious and distrustful. He explains the negro habit of adulterating gold dust by stating that it was first taught them by the Portuguese in order that they might practise it upon other European nations visiting the country and thus discourage the African trade.¹⁶

⁷ Sibree, Jas., "Madagascar," p. 9. Quoting from Hammond's book.

⁸ Munzinger, W., "Ostafrikanische Studien," p. 386.

⁹ Burton, R. F., "The King of Dahomé," I, 22.

¹⁰ Stowe, G. W., "The Native Races of South Africa," pp. 173-4.

¹¹ Baker, Sir S. W., "Ismailia," I, pp. 114-6.

¹² Livingstone, D., "Travels and Researches in Africa," p. 219.

¹³ Johnston, Sir H. H., "The Uganda Protectorate," p. 630.

¹⁴ Thomson, Jos., "Through Masai Land," p. 453.

¹⁵ Park, Mungo, "Travels," pp. 22-3.

¹⁶ Given in Howison, John, "Views of the Colonies," I, 59.

The most prominent defect in the character of the African races visited by Park was an insurmountable propensity to theft.¹⁷ The Blantyre Mission Station was constantly bothered by thieves, both from within and without the station. Even the guards connived at theft. The natives showed the greatest diligence in stealing—but none in labor.¹⁸ The Kavirondo are described as an industrious agricultural people, but quite addicted to thieving;¹⁹ Stanley was irritated considerably by the constant theft of his supplies.²⁰ The negroes of equatorial Africa who had come in contact with the lowest class of whites were much greater thieves than their unsophisticated brethren.²¹ The Zulus and Kafirs at the Kimberley diamond fields used to steal whenever they had the chance: the Balubas employed in the Congo and the Angola fields have never occasioned the loss of as much as a single karat. This, however, may be attributed to the fact that the Congo natives do not know what a diamond really is, the majority believing that it is simply a piece of glass employed in the making of bottles.²²

If we pursue our inquiry further, we shall find that with a great many African races these undesirable characteristics, dishonesty, propensity to theft and the like, do not appear to any extent within the group. It is only in their relations with outsiders that these defects become pronounced. The reason is that within the group a strict code of mores has been developed for the preservation of the society. This code compels the submission of individual desire to that of the tribe; it limits and defines the rights of each member, is enforced by the tribal organization, and supported by tradition and ancestral sanction. But to an outsider the tribal law extends no protection. Tribal jurisdiction, and with it all notions of right and duty, ends with the members of the tribe and their subject peoples. As a consequence the native attitude toward the white and Arab invaders would naturally be entirely different from that exercised toward group members.

A few examples may serve to clarify the above statement. The Makololo make a distinction between cattle-lifting and cattle-stealing. If the act is perpetrated against non-members of the tribe it is cattle-lifting, is not regarded as theft, and is not immoral. But if committed against a fellow-member, it is wrong and is punished as theft.²³ The Kunáma

¹⁷ Park, Mungo, "Travels," p. 127.

¹⁸ MacDonald, Duff, "Africana," II, 132-5.

¹⁹ Patterson, Lieut. Col. J. H., "The Man-Eaters of Tsavo," p. 246.

²⁰ Stanley, H. M., "In Darkest Africa," I, 261.

²¹ Du Chaillu, P. B., "Explorations in Equatorial Africa," p. 200.

²² Marcossou, Isaac F., "An African Adventure," pp. 266-7.

²³ Livingstone, D., "Travels and Researches in Africa," p. 565.

notion of theft is limited to stealing within their own territory.²⁴ Although the Lugwari are said to be fairly honest among themselves, the missionaries were compelled to put their granaries in houses for protection from prowling natives.²⁵ The Kafirs do not consider it an offense to steal from people of a hostile or rival tribe. In the olden days, before the compulsory enlargement of the peace-group by the British administration, to punish a Zulu for robbing or injuring a Pondo or a Basuto would have appeared absurd to all parties.²⁶ The Herero exhibits a strong inclination to theft, especially from the whites. He shows a very insolent and alarming behavior toward the stranger.²⁷ The Mandingoes proved a nuisance to Park by their constant pilfering. He observed that there was no complete justification for this because they considered theft a crime and did not steal from one another; but he adds, "it must not be forgotten that the laws of the country afforded me no protection; that everyone was at liberty to rob me with impunity."²⁸ The Bambala conception of honesty permits him to cheat a stranger to an unlimited extent; but he never overreaches a friend.²⁹ The Somali is apt to be careless with property entrusted to him, and, although perhaps not appropriating anything himself, will not stand in the way of others doing so.³⁰

Where race mixture occurred on a large scale the offspring would seldom be accepted by either of the parent stocks. Thus they would not be governed by the moral code of either group and, not being under any restraint, would tend to become greater rogues than their forefathers. This is what happened in South Africa with the Bastards, Hottentot-European and Bushman-European half-breeds.³¹ Likewise, where a class becomes partially educated by contact with Europeans and no longer finds a place in the original group, there is a loosening of the old moral restraints, and the individual no longer has scruples about deceiving his fellow-man less used to European culture.³²

This attitude is not to be wondered at, for on the part of civilized man in his relations with primitive peoples we find the same situation. The white belongs to a particular race and national group; its precepts and

²⁴ Munzinger, W., "Ostafrikanische Studien," p. 494.

²⁵ McConnell, R. E., "Notes on the Lugwari Tribe of Central Africa," in J. A. I., vol. LV (1925), p. 443.

²⁶ Kidd, Dudley, "Kafir Socialism," pp. 83-4.

²⁷ Dove, Dr. Karl, "Deutsch Südwestafrika," p. 186.

²⁸ Park, Mungo, "Travels," pp. 390-1.

²⁹ Torday, E., "Camp and Tramp in African Wilds," p. 25.

³⁰ Drake-Brockman, R. E., "British Somaliland," p. 93.

³¹ Ratzel, Friedrich, "Völkerkunde," I, 707.

³² Monteiro, J. J., "Angola and the River Congo," pp. 58-9.

morals are binding on him with respect to his fellow-members; less so with respect to members of other societies in the civilized world, and only theoretically binding when primitive races are concerned. Thus in South Africa the Dutch settlers appear from the first to have dissociated their dealings with the Hottentots from their ordinary code of morals. "It was not thought dishonest to cheat them, not thought illegal to rob them, not thought immoral to use their women as concubines."³³ The same feeling was shown in dealing with the Bushmen. When the colonists were few and the Bushmen were in the majority the colonists respected them and their rights and adopted a conciliatory policy. But as soon as the numbers of whites increased their treatment of the natives seemed to be entirely outside the moral code used among themselves.³⁴ "The crimes of the higher against the persons of the lower came to seem no crimes, or at worst offenses on a level with cruelty to animals."³⁵

It follows, then, that the situation is exactly the same as that already observed with reference to the American Indian and the Pacific Islander. Although the character of the African is adversely affected by the inculcation of the mores of the worst elements of European society with which the savage comes in contact, the deceit, dishonesty, and other bad characteristics attributed to him in his relations with strangers are largely the result of his treating with members of the "out-group," to whom by the mores of his society he owes no obligation.

On the other hand, the European judges the acts of the savage by the conduct prescribed in the mores for the members of his own civilized group. Here again, the native is an outsider and consequently is treated on an entirely different plane from members of the "in-group."

³³ Johnston, Sir H. H., "The Colonization of Africa," pp. 81-2.

³⁴ Stowe, G. W., "Native Races of South Africa," pp. 168-9. Gumpłowicz, L., "Der Rassenkampf," pp. 249-50.

³⁵ Alston, L., "White Man's Work in Asia and Africa," pp. 82-3.

CHAPTER XXIII

SLAVERY

Slavery has always appeared as a universal and inevitable adjustment in that stage of human evolution when sedentary habits replaced nomadic tendencies. So it was in sixteenth-century Africa when those intrepid representatives of the white race first began to familiarize themselves with the western shores of the continent. Slavery stood foremost as a venerable native institution of primary importance.

Among no other race of mankind has slavery assumed such proportions as in Africa, and none of the great divisions of mankind has been so definitely and complacently relegated by the others to an inferior position as the negro races.¹ The negro possesses certain qualities and aptitudes which are responsible for this state of affairs, viz:—his great individual strength, his traditional acquiescence in slavery, his docility, cheerfulness, short memory for sorrows and cruelties, his easily aroused gratitude for kindnesses, and finally his lack of race fellowship and lack of sympathy for his own kind. These all contributed to his unfortunate destiny.²

The form of slavery found among the aborigines was domestic in nature, and entirely different from the commercial form introduced by the demands of the Arab and the white traders in human wares. The slave was not regarded as a mere chattel, but held a definite status as a member of the household in accordance with native custom, and in some places even acquired a certain claim to the inheritance of a part of his master's property. Custom likewise required the master to feed, clothe and lodge his slave, which was a matter of no small consideration to the thriftless happy-go-lucky negro. A common arrangement between slave and master in Ashanti and Jaman permitted the slave to take employment or do as he pleased for a living, and to remit one-half of his earnings to the master.³ In West Central Africa of late years the lot of the domestic slave is not as fortunate as Freeman pictures it in Ashanti and Jaman. The slave in Central Africa becomes the property of the head of the house who can "contract" him to third parties irrespective of the interests or desire of the slave. The slave in his turn cannot hire out his labor without the con-

¹ Johnston, Sir H. H., "The Colonization of Africa," pp. 91-2.

² Eliot, Sir Chas., "The East African Protectorate," pp. 231-2.

³ Freeman, R. A. F., "Travels and Life in Ashanti and Jaman," pp. 364, 366.

sent of his master, and he may be transferred in payment of debt. Upon the death of the owner the slaves with their families are divided amongst the heirs with other goods and chattels.⁴

Domestic slavery in Africa owes its origin and maintenance to the life conditions of the people. It was proven to be an economic gain to society in that it forced men to work for others, and thus produced more than the mere needs of individual subsistence. To the primitive savage steady labor application was one of the most efficacious forms of punishment. Thus with the economic and repressive motives dominant, slavery as punishment for crime and slavery for debt arose as necessary adaptations. This can be seen in Madagascar⁵ and in Central Africa where a large part of the slaves were either debtors or criminals. Through the influence of European culture which was permeating his kingdom, Mutesa, the first king of Uganda, gave up capital punishment of criminals in favor of slavery.⁶ That slavery for crime in Africa is a useful adaptation which scarcely calls for modification by Europeans is suggested by Dugald Campbell who says, "Some of the slaves disposed of were sold on account of crimes committed, and these represented, as a rule, the incorrigible class of recidivists who in Europe would have been sentenced to sweat out the remainder of their lives in the galleys, or on the treadmill. I have on occasion redeemed several of this type, and in every instance have regretted it. This type of slave is bad, and generally speaking not worth the twenty or thirty yards of calico paid for his (or her) redemption."⁷

The attitude of the European governments with respect to the native institution of slavery has indeed been very tolerant. In most places slavery of any sort is illegal, but the law tacitly recognizes domestic slavery by noninterference in native custom. Thus in the Kasai country all a slave has to do is to appeal to a government official, a magistrate or any *chef de poste* who will tell him that slavery no longer exists, that his master has no right to any of his possessions, and that his earnings are his own. But, as a matter of fact, this does not work as well in practice as in theory for the slave rarely appeals to the official, because he knows that his master and his people would admit no difference in his status, and would rob and ill-treat him as soon as he returned.⁸ Law of a higher culture cannot change the mores ingrained generation after generation in the folk-thought of the negro.

⁴ Harris, John H., "Dawn in Darkest Africa," p. 144.

⁵ Sibree, Jas., "Madagascar," p. 181.

⁶ Roscoe, John, "The Baganda," p. 229.

⁷ Campbell, Dugald, "In the Heart of Bantuland," p. 27.

⁸ Hilton-Simpson, M. W., "Land and Peoples of the Kasai," pp. 76-7.

In Southern Nigeria British law takes cognizance of domestic slavery and, in fact, legalizes native law when it provides that the slave becomes the property of the master "by birth or in any other manner." The police can and do recapture and restore runaway slaves to their masters. It is, however, not altogether easy to recapture runaway slaves under British law, so to facilitate matters, a charge of larceny—the theft of a cloth which he wore, or the canoe in which he escaped, is added to the charge of running away.⁹

The type of slavery which we have designated as commercial for want of a better term arose out of the contact of higher and lower culture stages. The economic advantages of utilizing the labor of the native peoples have always held forth a strong appeal to the advanced races, especially in new countries opened to exploitation where labor is scarce. Slavery, one of the earliest forms of compulsory labor, seems to be a concomitant of the clash between culture stages.¹⁰

There were two varieties of African slave trade—that which was connected with the west coast of Africa and was in the hands of the various European races, and the Arab slave trade which was largely confined to the east coast. The former was primarily economic, the latter somewhat domestic in nature.¹¹ The Arab slave trade developed out of commercial intercourse with the tribes of the interior. Negro custom, however, gave the first impetus to the slave trade. It was usual for one tribe to request the aid of a superior force to attack some powerful neighbor; the prisoners of war became slaves. The earliest traders in the White Nile region exchanged beads and copper bracelets for ivory. When they came in greater numbers and well armed, the negro chieftains at once invited them to become allies and attacks were made upon various tribes, captives being taken

⁹ Harris, John H., "Dawn in Darkest Africa," pp. 144, 146-7.

Note: Harris gives a copy of one of the warrants issued for the capture of a runaway slave in Southern Nigeria:—

Copy

No. 1881

74

Warrant to Arrest Accused.

Form 2

In the Native Council of Warri, Southern Nigeria.

To.....Officer of the Court.
Whereas Joe of Lagos is accused of the offence of (1) running away from the Head of his House two years ago; (2) Larceny of cloth value 16s., two handkerchiefs, and a canoe. You are hereby commanded to arrest the said Joe of Lagos and to bring him before this Court to answer the said charge.

Issued at Warri, the 28th day of November, 1910.

(signed) PERCY GORDON,
Senior Member of Court.

¹⁰ Lenz, Oskar, "Wanderungen in Afrika," p. 209.

¹¹ Lucas, Sir Chas., "The Partition and Colonization of Africa," p. 42.

as slaves. The traders soon discovered that it was much easier and more profitable to conduct slave and cattle raids and exchange their booty with the native tribes for ivory than to import trade goods from Khartoum.¹² The matter of transportation of the ivory, however, had to be faced and the cheapest plan was to utilize slaves for this purpose. Once brought to the coast there was a ready market for the captives. The Mohammedan countries in northern Africa, Arabia, Turkey and Persia demanded slaves for eunuchs; in a later century the Sultan of Morocco established his power by importing fighting negroes from Nigeria. India was calling for negro slaves to become the guards of palaces and the fighting seamen of the navies.¹³ Thus it is evident there existed a close interrelation between the development of the ivory trade and the slave trade; they tended to become mutually dependent, one upon the other.¹⁴ Among the Arabs and the Islamized negroes there was one phase of slavery seldom met with among the European traders, namely, the religious aspect. The Mohammedan regarded it as a good and a proper thing to make the negro peoples serve him and in that way to propagate the faith; therefore he fought with a certain feeling of duty and righteousness against the heathen tribes.¹⁵

Let us now observe the methods which the Arabs pursued in their traffic in human beings and the consequent effects upon the native populations. In the White Nile trade "a man without means forms an expedition, and borrows money for this purpose at one hundred per cent. after this fashion: he agrees to repay the lender in ivory at one-half its market value. Having obtained the required sum, he hires several vessels and engages from 100 to 300 men, composed of Arabs and runaway villains from distant countries, who have found an asylum from justice in the obscurity of Khartoum. He purchases guns and large quantities of ammunition for his men, together with a few hundred pounds of glass beads." He then pays his men five months' wages in advance and the piratical expedition sets out.¹⁶

Each trader occupied a special district or sphere of influence, where, by a division of his forces over a number of stations, he could exercise a right of possession over a certain amount of assumed territory. The largest trader in Baker's time had 2500 Arabs in his employ in Central Africa. These were for the most part men who had deserted their agri-

¹² Baker, Sir S. W., "Ismailia," I, 259. Schmidt, Rochus, "Deutschlands Kolonien," II, 190.

¹³ Johnston, Sir H. H., "The Colonization of Africa," p. 92.

¹⁴ Meyer, Hans, "Das Deutsche Kolonialreich," I, 78.

¹⁵ Schmidt, Rochus, "Deutschlands Kolonien," II, 191.

¹⁶ Baker, Sir S. W., "In the Heart of Africa," pp. 152-3.

cultural pursuits in the Sudan and had formed companies of brigands organized after a rude military fashion and ready to take employment with any trader who offered sufficient inducements.¹⁷

At first meeting with a negro tribe the Arab trader and his hosts are on their good behavior, and invite an alliance with the chief to attack any hostile neighbor. The chief, worshiping the power of the Arabs' arms, seldom is backward in availing himself of this assistance, and leads his Arab visitors to within a short march of the unsuspecting village. When the appointed time of attack arrives, a little before daylight, they quietly surround the village while its occupants are still sleeping, fire the grass huts in all directions and pour volleys of musketry through the flaming thatch. The unfortunate victims rush panic-stricken from their burning homes, the men are shot down without mercy, while the women and children are kidnapped and secured. The herds of cattle within their kraal are immediately driven off with great rejoicing, while the women and children are brought together and marched to headquarters with the captured herds. If any ivory is discovered it is appropriated, granaries are overturned and a general plunder takes place. The traders return to the village of their host, present him with thirty or forty head of cattle and one or two captive girls. His joy is complete.

The chief's happiness does not last long, for generally the sequel of such an attack or *razzia* is a quarrel picked by the Arabs with their negro ally, who in his turn is murdered and plundered by the traders and his women and children seized as slaves.¹⁸

The *modus operandi* of the Arab trader is described by Campbell as follows:

"The Arabs usually settled down beside some powerful or small chief, and made a trading center. There they traded, and when ivory and slaves were sufficient they sent off caravans to the coast, which brought back guns and powder and other trade goods. After a time of peaceful penetration, having ingratiated themselves with the people and having built a walled village, the armed Arabs one peaceful morning would attack their erstwhile hosts and friends, killing their men and carrying off their women and children. Other villages around, seeing the futility of fighting such strong foes, would 'to save their heads,' as they put it, carry ivory and slaves to them and obtain whatever peace terms the Arabs cared to impose. It had to be peace at any price. From then on raids in the more distant villages were the order of the day, while the locals, turned into Arab servants, shared in the plunder."¹⁹

¹⁷ Baker, Sir S. W., "Ismailia," I, 3, 4. Letourneau, Ch., "L'évolution du commerce," pp. 86-8.

¹⁸ Baker, Sir S. W., "In the Heart of Africa," pp. 153-4.

¹⁹ Campbell, Dugald, "In the Heart of Bantuland," p. 258. See also Drummond, Henry, "Tropical Africa," pp. 73-4.

Thus mushroom Arab kingdoms were brought into being throughout Central Africa and gradually spread a veneer of the culture of Islam upon the aborigines. But it is to be noted that where the Arabs came in contact with strong nomadic peoples, such as the Masai, there was no enslavement of the aborigines.²⁰

On the east coast a few years ago the Indian merchant or trader appeared as the man behind the scene who financed and helped develop the slave trade through the Arab. The latter was no match for the crafty Indian who was absorbing the coast trade. The Arab without capital was forced to borrow advances from the Indian because money was required to conduct a successful expedition. The Indian compelled his debtors to sell their ivory and other produce to him. But the difficulties of conducting trade in the interior were great because of the lack of transportation. The Arab could not afford to hire carriers, for he was little more than an agent of the Indian merchant who sold wares at a high price and bought native products cheaply from his debtors. The natural consequence was that slave raids were undertaken to secure carriers, and the Arabs shipped the slaves not needed for this purpose on the return trip to Arabia, where there was a brisk demand for domestic servants.

The slave trade on the east coast, as a matter of fact, did not develop without governmental sanction. Thus if an Arab failed to return, the Indian merchant who advanced him the money simply appeared as a British subject before the English consul in Zanzibar and made complaint. The consul thereupon appealed to the Sultan who issued a command to return the defaulting Arab.²¹

The Egyptian government afforded a more positive and direct sanction to the slave trade than the Zanzibar and British authorities. Egyptian officers were wont to engage in the slave trade either directly on their own account, or indirectly by sanctioning the activities of the traders. Thus the governor of Fashoda assured Baker that the slave trade had been entirely suppressed, but shortly after Baker caught him red-handed in the act of levying tolls upon slaves brought down the river by traders. His explanation was that the toll was in the nature of a tax, and that the slaves which he had taken were hostages held until the people should pay their taxes. But at the same time he was obliged to confess there was no established tax.²² The Egyptian government, however, in regions where an established tax existed, was accustomed to accept payment in slaves,

²⁰ Johnston, Sir H. H., "The Uganda Protectorate," II, 800.

²¹ Lenz, Oskar, "Wanderungen in Afrika," pp. 132-4.

²² Baker, Sir S. W., "Ismailia," I, 92-3.

and boat loads of this currency were shipped off to Cairo and Kordofan by the government.²³

The direct consequences of Arab contact upon the native peoples of Africa is summarized by Drummond as follows: "Wherever they go in Africa the followers of Islam are the destroyers of peace, the breakers-up of the patriarchal life, the dissolvers of the family tie. Already they hold the whole of the Continent under one reign of terror [1888]. They have effected this in virtue of one thing—they possess firearms; and they do it for one object—ivory and slaves, for these two are one. The slaves are needed to buy ivory with, then more slaves have to be stolen to carry it. So living man has become the commercial currency of Africa. He is locomotive, he is easily acquired, he is immediately negotiable."²⁴

If now we turn to the slave trade carried on by European races on the west coast we find that the original incentive to making slaves differed considerably from that actuating the Arabs. The early African stations of the European powers were merely halting places upon the route to India; they were distinctly ancillary to the Asiatic stations. The exploration of the West African coast and contact with the negro races immediately preceded the discovery of America. Within a short period of time after the white man had established himself in tropical America and in the West Indies, it was found that the soil was exceptionally fertile for plantation products, and particularly for sugar. These plantations needed a regular supply of manual labor which was not forthcoming in the islands. The same conditions prevailed on the mainland where the Spaniards met with but little success in utilizing the natives for a labor force in the mines. The difficulty was that the Indians, by comparison with the negroes of Africa, were few in number, less tractable and much weaker in physique. Consequently it was to be expected that European peoples would correlate the facts that in Africa there was an abundant, docile labor force, and that this supply could be utilized in America where the chief drawback was a lack of laborers. Thus a carrying trade grew up.²⁵

By 1517 the slave trade between Africa and America was regularly established, at which time Charles V of Spain granted to a Flemish merchant the sole right of importing into America 4000 slaves per year.²⁶ It was the development of the slave trade which kept many an African

²³ McQueen, Jas., "Capt. Speke's Discovery of the Source of the Nile," part II, III.

²⁴ Drummond, Henry, "Tropical Africa," p. 70.

²⁵ Lucas, Sir Chas., "The Partition and Colonization of Africa," pp. 42-4.

²⁶ Johnston, Sir H. H., "The Colonization of Africa," p. 93.

settlement alive; the proximity of the Portuguese colonies in Africa to Brazil and the West Indies afforded them especial advantages in a traffic which compensated to some extent for the loss of the India commerce. Guinea, the Congo and Angola districts were the chief theaters of the trade which reached its height in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²⁷ The first record of British slave trading, however, long preceded the establishment of British overseas plantations. In 1562 Sir John Hawkins laid the foundation for the future trade by taking a load of negroes from Sierra Leone to Hispaniola, thus breaking into the Portuguese and Spanish monopolies. It was not until after the passage of the Navigation Act of 1660 that England entered fully into the slave trade and the African Company, which obtained a royal charter from Charles II, contracted to supply 3000 slaves annually to the British colonies in the West Indies. The apogee of the trade was reached in the eighteenth century when the total number of slaves exported by the various European nations was perhaps 100,000 per annum, the English carrying about half the total number, while the Portuguese and French were active competitors. Although the successive African companies were failures, largely because private traders cut into their monopoly, the traffic must have been lucrative or it would not have held out so long, nor died so hard. "It was the making of Liverpool," says Lucas. "The first slave-ship belonging to Liverpool sailed in 1709; by the end of the century it is said that Liverpool controlled five-sixths of the British slave-trade, and just before the trade was abolished there were 185 Liverpool ships in the trade carrying not far short of 50,000 slaves annually."²⁸ Lindsay estimates that a total of some 74,000 slaves were annually exported by Europeans.

The lucrativeness of the trade may be seen from the fact that a slave in 1789 cost from £8 to £22 in Africa and realized in the West Indies from £28 to £35, these prices representing almost double those of the previous century.²⁹ The Portuguese colonies would have been serious burdens upon the home country in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had it not been for this traffic in human wares. Even as late as 1817-19 the income from the Angola export of slaves netted the government \$177,000 while all other sources of income scarcely reached \$25,000.³⁰ All during the nineteenth century there continued a brisk demand for

²⁷ Keller, A. G., "Colonization," pp. 126-7.

²⁸ Lucas, Sir Chas., "The Partition and Colonization of Africa," pp. 45-7.

²⁹ Lindsay, W. S., "History of Merchant Shipping and Ancient Commerce," II, 248-9.

³⁰ Corvo, J. de A., "Estudos sobre as Provincias Ultramarinas," I, 15-6. (Quoted in Keller, A. G., "Colonization," p. 127.)

slaves, even after the edicts abolishing slavery. This was because of the development of plantation industry in such places as the Cocoa Islands, San Thomé and Principé. Campbell observed the prices paid for healthy young slaves to range from £15 to £30. In the interior they went under the trade name of "marfim negra," black ivory, and when sold and shipped to the plantations they were known as contracted servants.³¹

In South Africa the slave trade never assumed any great proportions. This is undoubtedly because the only type of slavery which could be profitably used was of a domestic form. Slavery was not introduced by the Dutch in South Africa until 1658. As a matter of fact there was little or no necessity for it then because the country offered a "white man's climate." But in the seventeenth century it was the fashion for all colonizing nations to make of the negro a hewer of wood and a drawer of water, and the Dutch were merely acting in the spirit of the age. The first slaves were brought to the Cape settlement from a captured Portuguese slave vessel, and shortly afterwards the Dutch East India Company imported a number from the Guinea Coast, some of whom were sold on credit to the burghers and others retained by the government for whatever rough work was needed. The introduction of slavery led to the usual result—that the white man came to regard manual labor as degrading.³²

Once slavery gained a foothold, the Boers began to look to the neighboring tribes of Hottentots and Bushmen for recruits. But as the Boers were largely cattle raisers and the utility of slaves was considerably below what it would be among a purely agricultural people, the servitude took on a purely domestic aspect. Furthermore, the Boers knew from experience that adult captives were useless as slaves, because in a wild country escape was so easy that no fugitive slave law could be operative. Accordingly they adopted the system of seizing only the youngest children, who would soon forget their parents and be content to remain in perpetual bondage.³³ When the Koranas found that captive Bushmen children had an economic value and could be exchanged with the Boers for guns, ammunition and brandy, they made frequent forays upon the defenseless Bushmen for the purpose of kidnapping their children.³⁴

The Dutch laws in the early days were quite favorable to manumission and gave freed negroes all the rights of colonists. But when experience had demonstrated that they were too indolent and thriftless to put aside

³¹ Campbell, Dugald, "In the Heart of Bantuland," pp. 23, 29.

³² Theal, George M'C., "South Africa," p. 33.

³³ Livingstone, D., "Travels and Researches in Africa," p. 141.

³⁴ Stowe, G. W., "The Native Races of South Africa," p. 48.

anything for sickness or old age, and that they tended to become a charge upon the community, a law was passed compelling any one emancipating a slave to give security that he or she would not become a dependent upon the poor funds for a given number of years; the law further required that the person freeing a slave be required to pay a sum of money into the poor funds as a premium on the risk of the former slave requiring aid thereafter.³⁵ This action effectively stopped manumission in South Africa.

Let us now observe some of the outstanding effects of slavery induced by association of the European and Arab with the African savage. Foremost is the constant political ferment in which the traders plunged the regions of their activities, playing one tribe against the other, instigating rebellion within the tribe and bringing about the downfall of its political and social institutions.³⁶ In Kabinjo it tended to create an undue amount of bloodshed within the tribe, especially the murder of the older members of a poor family which might be selected to supply victims for slaves. Since the old were feared because they might be able to cause the chief annoyance by means of enchantments, their death was a safety measure. This fact, however, might often restrain the powerful in their despotism from a fear that the weak and helpless may injure them by their knowledge of magic.³⁷ On the Grain Coast human sacrifices died out almost entirely when the natives found that their captives were marketable commodities which could profitably be sold to the foreigner. Johnston asserts, however, that the number of lives thus saved was as a drop in the bucket to the wanton destruction of human life and devastation which followed in the wake of the slave trade. Moreover, he is inclined to believe that much of the ceremonial bloodshed of Benin and Ashanti did not come into existence until slave raiding had accumulated large stocks of serfs, and made the human body a cheaper article of sacrifice than a domestic animal.³⁸ In Angola babies were considered of no value, but rather a drug on the market since they prevented the mother from carrying a full load of rubber or ivory. Sometimes they would spear the child, or knock it on the head with an ax or club. Rubber and ivory had first consideration.³⁹

The slave trade, since it brought a medley of European adventurers to

³⁵ Theal, George M'C., "South Africa," p. 34.

³⁶ Drummond, Henry, "Tropical Africa," pp. 71-2. Cf. Johnston, Sir H. H., "Liberia," I, 91-2.

³⁷ Livingstone, D., "Travels and Researches in Africa," p. 356.

³⁸ Johnston, Sir H. H., "Liberia," I, 108-9.

³⁹ Campbell, Dugald, "In the Heart of Bantuland," p. 28.

the coast and gave the natives every opportunity to observe the lowest types of civilized humanity, had the effect of setting the black man against the white; in addition, it confirmed him in his own practice of perpetual tribal warfare. Europeans did not counteract barbarism; they supported it.⁴⁰ Slavery placed the negro more closely in touch with the appurtenances of western civilization, thus creating in him new wants which indirectly developed more industrious habits as judged by the European code. The Arabs understood better than any others of the higher cultural groups how to make the negro work, says Boshart.⁴¹ Slavery furnished the necessary force to weld the mores of the negro into a new form. Perhaps the most important effect of slavery was to lock up Africa for some three hundred years. It was like a great game preserve; game preserves cannot be anything but locked up lands, uncultivated lands and unopened areas. Africa was a great preserve for human game, a scene of barbarism when Europeans went there, and of intent they maintained that barbarism. They did not want settlements and roads to the interior; they wanted only fortified factories and accommodations for slaves by the seashore.⁴²

Setting aside the question of the relative gains or losses accruing to the native races as a consequence of commercial slavery, the fact remains that during this period of three hundred years or so many generations had come and gone, and a new code of mores, a new prosperity policy, as it were, had been evoked with slavery as the matrix. Now with the new humanitarian policy rising to untold heights in the nineteenth century, it could scarcely be otherwise than that the relations of the white man with the nature peoples would be raked over the coals, and the most glaring inconsistencies with the new ideals would come in for harsh condemnation. Nothing was in greater opposition than slavery; it received the full force of the blow delivered by the new "social conscience," and public opinion in the advanced European countries decreed it must be abolished wherever civilization's power was effective. Thus the problem was created—slavery nominally disappeared, but not the customs and habits ingrained into a subject people after three centuries of servitude under the white races, and among many tribes a servitude from time immemorial. What changes must be effected in those customs and mores, which had grouped themselves about the institution of slavery, in order to fit these primitive races to the new life conditions suddenly unfolded before them? No attention

⁴⁰ Lucas, Sir Chas., "The Partition and Colonization of Africa," pp. 150-1.

⁴¹ Boshart, August, "Zehn Jahre Afrikanischen Lebens," p. 221.

⁴² Lucas, Sir Chas., "The Partition and Colonization of Africa," p. 53.

was given to the problem of the after effects of sudden freedom. The "social conscience" was appeased with the official abolishment of slavery; the mores seemed consistent at last; the pain of consequent imperfect adjustment was not felt in Europe.

Denmark led the way in abolishing the slave trade in 1802, and was followed by England in 1806. In 1814 and 1815 respectively the Dutch and Swedes prohibited their subjects from engaging in the slave trade and shortly after most of the South American states abolished the traffic upon attaining their independence. England was most active in abolishing the trade, not only in her own dominions, but in those of other powers. Thus in 1836 Britain paid Portugal £300,000 in order to get the export of slaves from any Portuguese possession prohibited; a few years before, in 1820, she paid £400,000 to Spain to purchase a promise from the Spaniards that they would cease to buy negroes in Africa. As a legal condition, slavery was abolished in all parts of the British dominion in the '30's, in Jamaica and the West Indies in 1833, and in South Africa, 1834-1840.⁴³ Unified action did not come until 1885 when the General Act of the Berlin Conference prohibited the slave trade in the territories forming the conventional basin of the Congo.⁴⁴ A few years later the Brussels Act, directed at the slave trade in all parts of Africa, was subscribed to by seventeen powers. This document was unique in that for the first time in history an international agreement purported to be not for the mutual benefit of the signatories, but for the purpose of "protecting effectively the aboriginal populations of Africa and ensuring for that vast continent the benefits of peace and civilization." The Act was directed against those who engaged in the slave trade irrespective of nationality; they were to be deprived of arms; their vessels engaged in the slave trade were to be seized and destroyed; and organized expeditions and flying columns were to be employed against them.⁴⁵

The League of Nations set up a Slavery Committee in 1924 to examine into the question of slavery and analogous conditions. This committee, composed of eight experts of different nationalities, studied the slave trade, the status of slavery, and practices akin to slavery, such as the acquisition of girls as concubines, the so-called "adoption" of children, debt slavery

⁴³ Johnston, Sir H. H., "The Colonization of Africa," pp. 97-8. Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," p. 356.

⁴⁴ Lindley, M. F., "The Acquisition and Government of Backward Territory in International Law," pp. 354-5.

⁴⁵ Lehr, E., "Tableau général de l'Institut de Droit International," pp. 145-7. Snow, Alpheus H., "The Question of the Aborigines," pp. 289-91. Lugard, Sir F. D., "Slavery, Forced Labour, and the League," in *Nineteenth Century*, vol. XCIX (Jan., 1926), p. 78.

and forced labor. Suggestions made in the report of the Slavery Commission embraced the following: abolition of the legal status of slavery; right of pursuit across inland frontiers; infliction of severe penalties on persons who have taken part in a raid or in the transport of slaves; repatriation of freed slaves and the creation of a transit depot; transport of slaves to be regarded as an act of piracy. The centralization of information concerning the origin, destination and transport of freed slaves was also advocated.⁴⁶

The Sixth Assembly, after examining the report of the Temporary Slavery Commission, recommended for approval a draft convention for the suppression of slavery submitted by the Sixth Assembly Committee and based on proposals put forward by the British delegation. It was resolved that the proposals of the Slavery Committee in the form of a convention should be sent to all members of the League and to certain other countries ⁴⁷ who would be invited to submit their observations before June 1, 1926, and to appoint plenipotentiaries who would meet at the next session of the Assembly, examine the draft, and sign as soon as the text of the convention had been settled upon.⁴⁸ The final text of the agreement defines slavery and the slave trade; pledges the signatories to prevent and to suppress the slave trade, and to bring about progressively and as soon as possible the disappearance of slavery in every form. It also enjoins measures for the suppression of slavery in territorial waters and the transportation of slaves in vessels flying the flag of a signatory. The states are, moreover, pledged to afford mutual assistance in coping with the problem.⁴⁹

Let us now observe the direct consequences of emancipation upon the natives who must adjust themselves to an entirely different life condition. Hilton-Simpson gives us a good picture of the conditions created by emancipation.

"When the Arab slave raiders were finally put down their slaves had to find homes somewhere, and accordingly settled in places such as Lusambo; many of them who had been born in slavery or who had been captured as

⁴⁶ Monthly Summary of the League of Nations, vol. V, no. 7 (July, 1925), pp. 181-2.

⁴⁷ The convention was sent to the following countries not members of the League: The United States, Ecuador, Mexico, Germany, Russia, Egypt, Afghanistan, Turkey, and the Sudan.

⁴⁸ Monthly Summary of the League of Nations, vol. V, no. 9 (Sept., 1925), pp. 234-5; vol. VI, no. 6 (June, 1926), p. 152. Lugard, Sir F. D., "Slavery, Forced Labour, and the League," in *Nineteenth Century*, vol. XCIX (Jan., 1926), pp. 76-7.

⁴⁹ Monthly Summary of the League of Nations, vol. VI, no. 9 (Oct., 1926), pp. 221, 239.

infants did not even know to what country they originally belonged; they had no villages; they owed allegiance to no chiefs. They were, mentally, far below the average free man of a primitive tribe. These unfortunates have settled in places like Lusambo and Luebo, and have there produced children of a type as debased as themselves. Add to this population the riff-raff of the district-men who had to leave their village for the village good and have fled to the centre of Government to avoid the vengeance of their chiefs, 'Domestic' slaves whose idleness has induced their masters to ill-treat them, thieves, murderers, runaway workmen from factories, and loose women—add these to the number of freed slaves and you have the 'undesirable alien' population of places like Lusambo."⁵⁰

Baker likewise points out that wherever slaves are liberated in large numbers there is always great difficulty in providing for them. Thus when British cruisers captured Arab dhows on the east coast of Africa, the government became responsible for an influx of foundlings whom it was impossible to return to their own homes.⁵¹ At Blantyre it was soon discovered that the freed and runaway slaves who sought refuge there were by no means paragons of virtue. After they were settled it was only with the greatest difficulty that order was maintained. The mission was in fact drawing around it a large number of people each of whom was wont to do "what was right in his own eyes." The settlement, according to MacDonald, had no doubt saved a great many lives, but in doing so had made enemies of all the slave-owners in the district and even tended to increase the slave trade, for when the master saw that his slaves might run to the English, he resolved to sell them off as soon as possible. Not only did the mission attract refugees, but also their friends and others who had grievances against their masters; thus the settlement was in danger of becoming a large state composed of all the malcontents of the country. It was the same with all the English trading factories for every Englishman figured as an enemy of the slave trade and refugees flocked about him.⁵²

The Ashanti war of 1873-74 led to the ordinance by the British which declared all slaves free, and forbade the buying, selling or pawning of slaves under severe penalties. The ordinance, however, was not productive of unmixed good, for only the vicious slaves availed themselves of their freedom. Sir James Marshall, late Chief Justice of the Gold Coast Colony, is reported as saying, "Well would it have been if it (domestic slavery) had remained so instead of suddenly being made illegal and

⁵⁰ Hilton-Simpson, M. W., "Land and Peoples of the Kasai," pp. 73-4.

⁵¹ Baker, Sir S. W., "Ismailia," I, 130-1.

⁵² MacDonald, Duff, "Africana," II, 197-9.

abolished by ordinance on a given day. Only idle rogues and thieves took advantage of the change and added seriously to the criminal population."⁵³

The report of the Slavery Commission of the League of Nations takes cognizance of the inadvisability of sudden emancipation in a country where from time immemorial slavery had been recognized by the secular and religious law, and had become part of the social system. For this reason it suggests voluntary manumission by influential persons; registration on a certain date of all existing slaves and heavy penalties for any person found in possession of an unregistered slave after that date. The report also advocates the fixing of a time after which all children of slaves would be free-born; the granting of civil rights to slaves; manumission in case of ill usage, and the right of redemption; and finally a modified and transitional form of the abolition of the legal status whereby the freed slaves would be obliged to continue to serve their former masters for a fixed period as if they were indentured servants.⁵⁴

Where matters have been allowed to take their course slowly, and the people have had a chance to accustom themselves to the new order, there has been less trouble with the native races. Boshart emphasizes the fact that slavery should be abolished gradually, that all children should be born free but kept in a subordinate position to their brethren whom they should serve for a number of years. He would not allow the wilful breaking up of families, and would permit the acquisition of slaves by whites, but not to be sold again, and finally, would provide for their emancipation after a number of years. The sudden overthrow of slavery, a time-honored institution in African life, tends to do more harm than good.⁵⁵ Accepting this view, the Germans abolished slavery by birth in 1905, but did not attempt to change the status of those who were already slaves. Domestic slavery remained. But as a matter of fact the Arab, who is seldom a harsh master, has been steadily losing what authority he had over them, and a surprisingly large number have voluntarily manumitted their slaves. Others have been only too glad to have European planters, who are in need of a labor force, ransom their slaves, the usual rate being from £3 to £4. It is evident that even if no steps are taken by European authorities in the matter, domestic slavery will soon die a natural death in East Africa.⁵⁶

The conception of free wage labor is not new in Africa. It has long

⁵³ Ellis, A. B., "The Tshi-Speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast," pp. 296-7.

⁵⁴ Lugard, Sir F. D., "Slavery, Forced Labour and the League," in *Nineteenth Century*, vol. XCIX (Jan., 1926), pp. 84-5.

⁵⁵ Boshart, August, "Zehn Jahre Afrikanischen Lebens," pp. 218, 222-4.

⁵⁶ King, Norman, "Mafia," in *Royal Geographic Journal*, vol. L (1917), p. 121.

been used in hiring carriers of goods. Thus when the old economic conditions, which made slavery the only means of acquiring a labor force, change, the natural evolution would be toward wage labor. This is actually taking place in British Tropical Africa where the government still recognizes domestic slavery. Throughout Nigeria landowners can engage labor at low rates. At Yola, where hired labor is becoming very common, slave owners say they would not mind if all their male slaves were to assert their freedom, while at Sokoto the chiefs declared that experience had proven hired labor to be cheaper than feeding and clothing slaves who had little work to do for a great part of the year. In Zanzibar, long before the legal status of slavery was abolished, many Arabs declared that they preferred free labor.⁵⁷

It is evident from the facts presented that, although slavery of a domestic nature was a native institution in Africa, commercial slavery on a grand scale was a direct economic consequence of the contact of the European with the negro.

For nearly three centuries the slave trade was highly profitable and little disturbed the conscience of the civilized world in spite of the enormous casualties on the part of the aborigines, and the disruption of their family and social life. But in the early part of the nineteenth century, with the rise of new social ideals and with the gradual development of humanitarianism, the mores of the civilized world revolted against the institution of slavery. The slave trade was abolished and within the course of a few decades the status of slavery was officially legislated out of existence. This struck at the very heart of the native institution and, where enforced, was a consequential factor in the disorganization of native institutions. Where tolerated, it has survived until economic changes have caused its natural disappearance as a maladaptation.

⁵⁷ Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," pp. 402-3.

CHAPTER XXIV

FORCED LABOR

The appropriation of the natural resources of Africa, be it in mining, agriculture, gathering of rubber and other products, or railroad building, necessitates manual labor which the white man is unable to furnish because of reluctance, shortage of numbers and, in the tropics, lack of acclimatization. The white entrepreneur in tropical Africa is entirely dependent upon the native population for a labor supply. Public opinion and European law do not countenance slavery; thus one of the readiest means of supplying labor is lost. Besides, where domestic slavery is possible, experience is proving it to be a costly method. The wage system is preferred by all, but that does not solve the problem because the natives show no inclination to flock to the standards of the white employer.

There are many reasons for this. Captain Wilson informs us that

"The black man is more fortunately situated than the average European. A very short spell of labor puts him into the possession of sufficient means to ensure him a life of ease for the remainder of his days. A plot of land is his for the asking, on which a small amount of labor suffices to build a hut. His earnings provide the purchase money for a couple of wives, and possibly a certain amount of live stock. His wives till the ground, the fertility of which ensures him crops sufficient for the daily needs of himself and his family. What need, then, to work after sufficient earnings have been amassed to provide a life of comfortable ease? . . . Increase in wages—the remedy of civilization—only intensifies the difficulty since it 'accelerates the laborer's retirement from activity. If on the other hand you cut down rates of pay to a fine point, your native argues that he can do better working on his own land, and so you lose him again.'"¹

The Congo negro, and indeed this holds true for most other blacks, does not have the invincible aversion to labor which is ascribed to him. The native likes to work, but only on tasks that are known to him and for which he can see an immediate end.² Give the negro interesting work under a master who understands him and treats him fairly, and he will work well and faithfully. But he does not like to apply himself to one task as does the European. Much of the work offered, as mining, is

¹ Wilson, Capt. H. A., "A British Borderland," pp. 323-4.

² Leroy-Beaulieu, Paul, "De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes," II, 117-8.

highly distasteful to him, who by nature and training is an agriculturalist. His life is not, as is often stated, one of slothful idleness. He has to provide himself and family with food, and in Africa the only way to procure food is to grow it. Hoeing and sowing are not the only efforts involved, for once the crops begin to sprout the men watch by night, the women and children by day to scare off the pig and the game, elephants, hippopotami, and the like. When the harvest time comes there is plenty of work for all to do. Furthermore, native huts, canoes and other necessary paraphernalia do not last indefinitely, and their replacement takes considerable of the native's time. Besides feeding, he has to clothe himself and family, and nowadays, since weaving is no longer done in the village, he purchases his calico from the Indian merchant.³ For this and for the hut tax he has to find some money whether it be through the sale of his produce or by accepting employment for a time.

The fundamental reason why the negro does not want to work—and this refers primarily to taking employment with whites who seem to regard that act alone as work—is that he experiences no need of modifying his lowly position, the misery of which does not occur to him for lack of knowing any other state.⁴ Not until the negro can be made to seek a standard of living can we expect him to submit to regular labor for the whites. But that implies that we must create in the savage new wants beyond those of his usual needs and, moreover, must inculcate a certain degree of foresight: the urge must come from the outside.⁵ "It seems," says Keller, "that the Germans have been regularly unsuccessful in creating a supply of free labor by the stimulation of wants; the ground upon which they work is unpropitious and no support for their economists' theories, in the shape of actual results, is yet forthcoming. The natives are almost all tropical peoples whose needs are few and will continue so to be except in the case of intoxicants and implements of war which the sentiment of the civilized world refuses to supply."⁶ For the sake of illustration let us take the Herero. That the Herero can work is evidenced by the care which he takes of his herds of cattle. Cattle are the holy of holies to him and he will perform any amount of labor in the care of them, but will not lift a finger to work for white men. He will not work willingly where there is no incentive; his needs of European wares are limited—a few pieces of clothing, a little tobacco, and a few odds and ends are all that he needs. Meal, rice and sugar, which he occasionally pur-

³ Pearce, F. B., "Zanzibar," pp. 244-6.

⁴ Rondet-Saint, Maurice, "L'Afrique équatoriale française," p. 253.

⁵ Meyer, Hans, "Das Deutsche Kolonialreich," I, 397.

⁶ Keller, A. G., "Colonization," p. 580.

chases, are regarded more or less as luxuries, for the herds and the abundance of flesh food furnish all that he requires and enable him to live quite comfortably, according to his own standards, without compelling him to accept employment with the whites.⁷

In Angola there is a great dislike on the part of the natives to work for wages, except as servants in houses or stores, and most of these are slaves of other natives. Thus Monteiro reports, "For some years that I have been collecting the inner bark of the Baobab tree, I have been unable to induce one single native to hire himself to work by day or piecework; they will cut, prepare and dry it, and bring it for sale, but nothing will induce them to hire themselves, or their slaves, to a white man."⁸ Members of the Quissama tribe refuse to have anything to do with their neighbors, the Ambonda, who have been subjected by and work for the Portuguese. A Quissama man's answer as to why he would not speak to an Ambonda man was, "I cannot, you have masters, and slaves are beneath us."⁹ It is quite probable that native peoples, not understanding the wage system, regard it as a form of servitude, a master and serf relationship.

The Krumen seem to be the most diligent of the black races and have no scruples against working for the whites. They hire out in entire bands, family or groupwise in the various English, French and Belgian colonies, but only the chiefs bring their wives. This is the principal reason why they will not enter into contracts of more than one year's duration, and at the expiration of that time return home with what they have earned.¹⁰ It is only in consequence of reckless expenditure that a labor force can again be recruited from the same source.¹¹ In this connection it should be noted that the Krumen have long been in direct contact with the whites, have probably acquired many wants unknown to other tribes, especially those of the interior; and when at work they are in groups, distant from their native communities, so that an individual cannot go home and drop work at any instant because the effort of returning alone would be too troublesome to him.¹²

Modern civilization cannot wait for the nature peoples of Africa to acquire the mores prevalent in our society, especially those relative to the dignity and the duty of labor. The exploitation and development of a

⁷ Dove, Dr. Karl, "Deutsch Südwestafrika," pp. 185-7.

⁸ Monteiro, J. J., "Angola and the River Congo," p. 42.

⁹ Price, F. G. H., "A Description of the Quissama Tribe," in J. A. I., vol. I (1871), p. 191.

¹⁰ Dominik, Hans, "Kamerun," p. 37.

¹¹ Keller, A. G., "Colonization," p. 581.

¹² Wiese, Dr. J., "Belgische-Kongo," p. 66.

rich continent cannot be delayed in order that primitive races may catch up in the scale of civilization and mount to a standard of living which necessitates a larger income to be acquired only by labor. With the wage system in its embryonic state among most African societies, with slavery taboo, the only alternative to secure labor is some form of coercion. We may educate the native slowly, progressively, to our ideals of labor, but the first invitation must be a little force. Once the impetus is given the savage soon learns the benefits which can be drawn from his labor for the satisfaction of growing wants and tastes,—or vices,—but benefits in this case, since they incite him to earn money.¹³ "A very noticeable thing with most Bantus," says Stigand, "is that work induces work and leisure induces laziness of both mind and body."¹⁴ Junker maintains that the prosperity of the land and of the individual, the so-called "negro culture," is impossible without the compulsory labor of the negro himself.¹⁵

If we regard work as a duty and as a blessing for the civilized, it is indeed the same for those to whom we aspire to teach our civilization.¹⁶ In much the same way the Germans justified their procedure. A compulsory labor system, though abhorred as an infringement of the "rights of man," is claimed, from the standpoint of society's life and weal, to be perfectly justifiable. No more is required of the savage than has been and is demanded of his civilized superior; there is no more reason why black drones should be tolerated in the hive than white drones; vagabondage is to be regarded in any case as a disease in the body of society. But this view has never been received with unqualified approval at home. The German writers used to complain about it. "European philanthropists have no compunctions about enforcing industry at home and coercing each member of society to render his share of service to the public; but as soon as a hand is outstretched to impel the distant, and therefore somewhat idealized savage to vary his life of tranquillity, the cry of 'Taboo!' is heard at once."¹⁷

Compulsory labor is inherent in the native system. African customs recognize enforced labor. The king of the Baganda appointed overseers for all public work. Every person called to do state work had to pay the overseer a sum of cowry-shells; at first ten shells, later one hundred were demanded, and the workman could not begin his labor until the fee was paid. If he had no shells, he had to borrow or give some

¹³ Rondet-Saint, Maurice, "L'Afrique équatoriale française," p. 254.

¹⁴ Stigand, C. H., "Hunting the Elephant in Africa," p. 155.

¹⁵ Junker, W., "Travels in Africa," II, 97.

¹⁶ Rondet-Saint, Maurice, "L'Afrique équatoriale française," p. 262.

¹⁷ Keller, A. G., "Colonization," pp. 586-7.

other good of equivalent value; if there was too great a delay he was fined and some member of his family would be seized as a hostage until he brought the necessary sum. In this way the king combined revenue with a forced labor supply.¹⁸ The majority of the old African communities exacted, and in many cases still exact, compulsory labor, which was paid according to the whim or the benevolence of the chief. These demands, however, were always made at a time which would not conflict with agricultural necessities and the labor was never used very far from the village.¹⁹ In their travels through the Bushongo territory Hilton-Simpson and Torday had difficulty in securing porters, until Torday learned of a powerful secret society and appealed to its "grand master." The next day a couple of hundred men were on the spot ready to carry their loads. The society, which existed to maintain the authority and dignity of the king, had the power of enforcing labor whenever needed, but this was in accord with local custom and appealed to the native's fear of the unknown to enforce obedience.²⁰ The above examples serve to show that force, employed with decision and some measure of justice, is a thing universally understood and respected among primitive races.²¹

Let us now observe the mode in which pressure has been applied by the various European powers to secure an adequate native labor supply.²² The *corvée* is the simplest and at the same time the most effective method. Dr. Karl Peters proposed it on a grand scale in his "fair arrangement" by which the government would commandeer the labor of all natives between the ages of twenty and thirty-five, and would utilize their services as needed, or hire them out to work for eleven hours per day. The African, according to his idea, does not understand freedom, and "such a system would form a convenient half-way house between slavery and the European system of free labor."²³

European administrations in West Africa have taken over the functions of the native chiefs, and in so doing have adopted the *corvée* under the plea of works of public utility. In the Gambia every able-bodied male is compelled, under the penalty of a fine or six months' imprisonment, to give labor for the construction of roads, bridges, wells and clearings round the villages in his own district. He is also obligated to serve as a carrier when requested. Apparently the amount of time to be given to

¹⁸ Roscoe, John, "The Baganda," p. 24.

¹⁹ Harris, John H., "Dawn in Darkest Africa," p. 149.

²⁰ Hilton-Simpson, M. W., "Land and Peoples of the Kasai," pp. 113-4.

²¹ Cf. Keller, A. G., "A Sociological View of the Native Question," in the *Yale Review*, vol. XII (Nov., 1903), p. 270.

²² See Appendix, pp. 364-5, for British labor policy.

²³ Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," p. 356.

such works and the remuneration, if any, are left to the judgment of the governor. In Southern Nigeria all able-bodied males between fifteen and fifty years of age, and all able-bodied women between fifteen and forty are subject to be called upon for road-making and creek-clearing for a period of six days each quarter. Disobedience involves a fine of £1 or imprisonment not exceeding one month. Northern Nigeria has enacted similar regulations. In German Togoland the natives were required to give twelve days' labor a year, but they had the privilege of commuting this by paying six marks; however, the laborer could only be compelled to give his services upon roads and bridges in his own district. Almost identical arrangements prevail in the French and Portuguese Congo.²⁴ The ordinances in Kenya Colony provide for a levy of twenty-four days for local public works, and a conscription of sixty days for general public works—eighty-four days in all.²⁵ In Belgian Congo native chiefs were invested as accredited agents of the state and required to furnish annual "prestations" in produce and in corvées according to the needs of the state.²⁶ The Roman Catholic Missions of Belgian Congo availed themselves of the corvée system, as shown in the report of the Commission of Enquiry sent to Congo by King Leopold in 1905. Workmen for the chapel farms were demanded of the chiefs who dared not refuse; and only force, more or less disguised, enabled them to be retained.²⁷

In Belgian Congo the labor situation appeared at its worst. The Belgians redeemed the slave population from the Arabs, only to reënslave it for their own economic advantage. Dr. Hinde's report informs us that "Enormous numbers of people considered themselves our slaves, and since the Arabs had been turned out were like sheep without a shepherd. We selected the petty chiefs who still existed—and, in cases where the chiefs had been killed, made new ones,—and these, in turn, selected their own people. One of us then marched this party out into the surrounding country, and choosing a convenient place for them, gave orders that they should build a village and start planting."²⁸ Similarly, from about 1897 to 1904 hostages were used to develop rubber plantations. These hostages were captured from amongst the old, the sick and infirm, or even from among the women and children, the object being to force the young and able-bodied into the forests to gather rubber with which to "redeem" the

²⁴ Harris, John H., "Dawn in Darkest Africa," p. 150.

²⁵ Marvin, F. S., "Western Races and the World," p. 220.

²⁶ Bourne, H. R. F., "Civilisation in Congoland," p. 174.

²⁷ Harris, John H., "Dawn in Darkest Africa," p. 250.

²⁸ Bourne, H. R. F., "Civilisation in Congoland," p. 159.

father, mother, sister or child. The rubber plantations made it possible to utilize the labor of the hostages, and the slightest shortage of rubber was a sufficient pretext for capturing more hostages to provide labor for the plantations.²⁹ Cruel as was this treatment of the natives, it marked an advance over the methods of the preceding decade when each town was forced to bring a certain quantity of rubber to the commissary every Sunday. "It is collected by force," said Mr. Murphy of the American Baptist Missionary Union,—“the soldiers drive the people into the bush: if they will not go they are shot down, their left hands being cut off and taken as trophies to the commissary. . . . These hands—the hands of men, women, and children—are placed in rows before the commissary, who counts them to see the soldiers have not wasted the cartridges. The commissary is paid a commission of about a penny per pound upon all the rubber he gets; it is therefore to his interest to get as much as he can.”³⁰

The legitimate use of the *corvée* is limited to works of a public nature and cannot, except by stretching the imagination, as in Dr. Karl Peters' "fair arrangement," be extended to private business and enterprise.

With the civilized world frowning upon forced labor for private enterprise in its two most barefaced forms, some expedient had to be developed which would secure the necessary labor supply and at the same time cloak the element of force so that it would create as little opposition as possible. That expedient appeared in the well-known form of contract labor, with evils which recall the days of out-and-out slavery.

The system pursued by the Germans in East Africa was to license recruiters who went round to the different villages to collect laborers, making a separate contract with each man engaged. Many abuses crept in, such as the systematic deception of the natives, and in 1913 the government passed regulations which limited the number of recruiters, assigned a district to each so that they might be more easily controlled, and extended the period for which laborers could be engaged from 180 to 240 working days. These regulations, however, were not satisfactory to the colonists, who maintained that the recruiters were unable to supply enough hands, and that they did not try to engage them for the maximum period, expecting to derive greater profit from reengaging the men when discharged. In the district of Dar-es-Salaam another system was tried by establishing "labor markets." Planters reported the number of hands desired; then such natives as were willing to work were collected in centers where the

²⁹ Harris, John H., "Dawn in Darkest Africa," pp. 205-6.

³⁰ Quoted by Bourne, H. R. F., "Civilisation in Congoland," p. 210.

planters met them and made personal contracts with each. This system, however, was abolished in deference to public opinion in Germany.³¹ In practice the Germans have followed the motto, "colonizing Africa is making the negroes work" and certainly the abject fear exhibited by the natives whenever the white man approaches is mute evidence. Whips and free contracts seldom go together.³²

Until recent years there was scarcely any difference in practice between slave trading and recruiting in Portuguese West Africa. The distinction existed only in theory. The recruiter carried on his business by purchasing slaves from the Congo rebels and from the chiefs in the Rhodesian borderland. Within the territory the official recruiter would demand laborers from the chiefs; the unofficial recruiters obtained them by bribes. Even as late as 1906 the so-called contract laborer was only a slave and treated as such. Harris describes the system:

"In Angola, even in San Paolo de Loanda, are to be found regular 'bridewells' for the production of slaves. Each woman has a little hut in a courtyard enclosed by a wall, in which she lives with her young ones. The woman is always pregnant, and carries her last child on her back, during work, in Kaffir manner. The overseer of this plantation, who treated me in every respect with Portuguese friendliness, and took me for a great admirer of his breeding establishment, told me that about four hundred negroes were there, and added that he had over a hundred young ones in the compound. When the young one is so far grown up that he can be put to some use, he enters into a so-called contract, or he steps quite simply into the place of a dead servical. For instance, Joseph is told that his name is no more Joseph but Charles, and immediately the dead Charles is replaced. He never fell ill; he never died; he only lives a second life."³³

Recent investigations in Portuguese territory, both in East and West Africa, indicate that the last twenty years have witnessed no improvement. The labor system to-day is best described as one of state serfdom. The native in theory works directly for the government, which in turn hires out his services to private employers. Thus villagers from an Ambaquista village testified—and their testimony may be taken as characteristic of most of the native peoples in Portuguese territory—that in the time of the monarchy (before 1910), although they were slaves, they were better off and got more for their work than to-day. The government makes them work but gives them nothing. As slaves they had value

³¹ British Government Handbook no. 113, "Tanganyika" (German East Africa), p. 60.

³² Harris, John H., "Dawn in Darkest Africa," p. 262.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 141, 176.

and were not underfed, but now, under the heel of this heartless government system, nobody cares whether they live or die. They are in the grasp of a system which makes no allowance for the circumstances of the individual and ignores the fate of the families of the labor recruits.³⁴

The Ambaca people in the Songo district of Angola, converted to Christianity and made acquainted with letters more than two centuries ago, once held a favored position and were impressed only as soldiers. Now they are crushed down into compulsory labor along with other blacks, and so completely has their territory been depopulated by government recruiting for plantations that in 1923 the High Commissioner decreed none should be recruited for work outside the district. The order has not been obeyed. In this district and in others where most of the able-bodied men have been sent away women are impressed for government work. Their plight is pitiful, for girls as young as fifteen years of age, pregnant women and others with their babes tied to their backs are forced to work on the roads without pay, nor does the government provide food. That is brought to them by the people of their village. So much time is required for government work that the people cannot give the necessary time to their own crops and live in a chronic state of semi-starvation.

Many of the government projects built at a great cost of human labor and lives appear to be ill-advised. Thus Ross mentions a beautiful stretch of roadway, one hundred and forty-six miles long, over which only one vehicle filled with highway officials had passed in two days. Another road leads only to a fine view on a hill top. Beyond the Zambezi one finds miles and miles of splendid roads, ten meters wide, but there is no bridge over the river so that they connect with nothing and no wheel turns upon them. To clear of trees, grade, smooth and surface with ant-hill clay these broad strips imposes a crushing burden upon the natives who must labor with their own primitive implements, for the government does not provide them with axes, picks, shovels, spades, wheelbarrows or road scrapers.³⁵

The Portuguese labor regulations lay down what appear to be very favorable terms for the indentured servant. In accord with the proposition that every native is under "a moral and legal obligation to work" the regulations provide that a native may contract his services for a period of not over two years. Failure to state and record the wages, and the insertion of any clause giving the employer the right to administer corporal

³⁴Ross, E. A., "Report on Employment of Native Labor in Portuguese Africa," p. 12.

³⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 7, 15, 30, 40.

punishment, render the agreement null and void. Contracts may be made with or without the assistance of government officials, but any document signed in the presence of a government authority carries with it the right and duty of official intervention in the case of dispute between the parties; if made without reference to government officials, employers cannot look for official assistance in the case of labor troubles, whereas the employees under all circumstances may rely upon official protection. Wages must be paid regularly, and the employer is precluded from forcing merchandise upon the employee in lieu of wages. With respect to recruiting, the regulations of January, 1903, provide for a central committee to appoint and control labor agents. The agents were to cooperate with native chieftains in securing laborers, and were to bring them to the chief centers of industry where each one was to be given to the master to whom he had been assigned. These regulations also provided for suitable housing, food, and clothing; medical care must be provided by the employer.³⁶ If the native dislikes to work for a master, he may become an agriculturalist on his own account by taking up public and uncultivated land which is open to him.

Although the regulations are exhaustive upon all details of the laborer's life from the time he is recruited until he is buried, they are very hazy in regard to repatriation. In spite of the fact that regulations provide for a complete history of each servant, it is next to impossible to tell how long the laborer has been employed. The Portuguese journal "Reforma" of August 19th, 1911, describes the condition of those repatriated. "These people did not bring a single penny, and it was through charity alone that they received food and shelter. Almost every one of these unfortunate people, who have done twenty years of hard labor, arrived in ruined health and some of them died shortly after their arrival. It is probable that this form of repatriation is a stratagem which will, on account of the protests that will be raised against it in this province, enable the planters to argue that repatriation is unproductive of any good results."³⁷ Repatriation was, in truth, expatriation.

A recent report on the employment of native labor in Portuguese Africa shows conclusively that these humanitarian laws mean nothing to the Portuguese. Although the law contemplates that the laborer shall enter into all labor contracts with a free will, the Ambaquistas say that they put their thumb prints on some papers, but do not know what they contain and would be flogged should they dare refuse to sign them. The

³⁶ MacDonal, A. J., "Trade, Politics and Christianity in Africa and the East," pp. 17-8. Harris, John H., "Dawn in Darkest Africa," pp. 162-5.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 190-4.

government keeps all such contracts *para Ingleza ver*, that is, "for the English to see."³⁸

Many and barefaced are the labor-stealing schemes whereby the Portuguese obtain the native's services for little or nothing. A laborer works for the coffee planter and at the close of his term of service the planter informs him that the stipulated wage has been deposited with the government, and that he should go to such and such an office to collect it. The native applies there, and is told to come around in a month or so. If he has the temerity to do so, he is threatened with the calaboose and that settles it. The native thinks that the planter has really paid for his labor, but that the official does him out of it, and his suspicions are further confirmed by the sudden prosperity of many officials. Native workers are frequently furnished with time-cards or work letters showing thirty-six days to a month. When the laborer first receives his time-card it is a common practice to require one week's labor *free* to pay for the "cost" of the time-card, and after it is filled to demand two additional weeks of gratuitous labor. The foreman also steals a share of the native's labor, demanding personal service of the worker which does not apply on the time he is bound to serve for the planter. Many times when the laborers have worked nearly all day the boss says, "It's going to rain," whereupon they quit and that day is not counted. Another culpable method of appropriating labor is to heap so much abuse upon a laborer that he runs away—that settles his account. Laborers are fined for all sorts of things. Some men lie in wait for runaway workers and blackmail them into working for them gratis. When a man runs away from a planter his village must provide a substitute, and the time which the absconder has already worked is not credited to the village.³⁹

Portuguese law makes praiseworthy provisions for the acquisition and conservation of property by the native, but in fact he has no property rights as against the white man because the government affords him no protection. Although the law will reserve five hectares for any native family, the white man can take a concession which engulfs a native village and all its holdings. The law further provides that a native working for himself is not to be called upon to render service, but cases of exemption on this account are extremely rare. The law provides that wages must be paid regularly to forced laborers. Foreigners are required to pay such wages in the presence of the *administrador*, but for the Portuguese this clause in

³⁸ Ross, E. A., "Report on Employment of Native Labor in Portuguese Africa," p. 12.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 19-20, 29-30, 35-6.

the law is a dead letter and they help themselves freely to native labor.⁴⁰

Some of the later schemes to bring pressure upon the native to work for white employers center about the power of taxation. Thus in the Transvaal heavy taxes were imposed upon the natives in order to force them to work in the mines. The state thus procured resources for itself, and indirectly forced the negro to work so that he might pay for his taxes.⁴¹ The hut tax in the German colonies aimed at the same result. In Portuguese East Africa a hut tax of one and one-half pounds is levied which consumes well over half of the native's annual income as a contract laborer. If a woman's hut tax is unpaid she must work on the highway or other public work, or she may be delivered over to a planter for field labor. She works until the time comes to pay her next hut tax; then her last year's tax is considered paid and she is released, thus giving her a chance to find the money for the new tax. If she cannot find it she becomes a state serf for another year, there being no rate of commutation between hut tax and day's work. A head tax is levied in Angola, but in the administration of this tax it is apparent that the Portuguese expect it to yield labor, not taxes. The tax collector called for the taxes at a Songo village in September, 1923, but when cash was offered he would not take it and the "tax delinquents" were all recruited and sent to work on a private plantation. The following February the tax collector again appeared; those presenting cash were let off, but if there was any delay in getting the money together it was refused and such natives were recruited. Since 1923 this village has been compelled to furnish men and women for government work. Those who have paid their head tax are not exempt from this labor. Taxes are due just before the crops are ripe, thus making it necessary for the native to borrow from traders under extremely hard conditions. Some traders require six months' labor for paying a man's head tax which amounts to approximately \$1.50. On the East Coast the hut tax had to be paid in British sterling while wages were always paid in the cheaper Portuguese money. At one time it took a man's wages for six months to pay his hut tax (about \$5.00). Then the Indian traders would hoard gold and, when tax-paying time came, would sell it at from twenty-five to fifty per cent advance. In 1924 for the first time the hut tax could be paid in Portuguese currency.⁴²

⁴⁰ Ross, E. A., "Report on Employment of Labor in Portuguese Africa," pp. 21-2, 24.

⁴¹ Leroy-Beaulieu, Paul, "De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes," II, 587.

⁴² Ross, E. A., "Report on Employment of Labor in Portuguese Africa," pp. 8, 24, 44-5.

Other methods employ the right of the state to requisition native labor as a lever to force the negro to take employment with the colonists. For example, in Nyasaland the law compels no one to engage in any but public service, but it has the intention and the effect of imposing wage earning on all. This is because of two reasons: first, the wages for government departments are fixed so low as to be no attraction, and second, only wage earners for private employers are exempted from the legal obligation to work for wages in government employ.⁴³ In 1900 an attempt was made to impose an obligation upon the indigenes of Madagascar to work for the colonists. The decrees of that date provided that all natives who had been in the service of Europeans for at least one year should be exempt from one-half the *prestations* which the state could demand. This system resulted in great abuse, for it gave rise to the sale by certain colonists of fictitious labor contracts which enabled the native to secure an exemption of fifteen days' labor out of thirty due the government.⁴⁴

In Kenya Colony just after the World War an attempt was made to establish a property right in the African. It was urged that compulsory labor in the interests of the general community was a perfectly legitimate method of education; but as a matter of fact this public work was so unpopular that the native would rather leave his village "to work for wages" than give up eighty-four days of his time each year. However, there was inserted into the ordinances a clause which exempted the native from public work if he were fully employed in any other occupation, or had been so for three months of the year. This saved the natives engaged in their own agricultural and industrial enterprises, but certainly has not been favored by the colonists who lost thereby a good supply of labor. Something had to be done and a committee representing the Convention of Associations, the most influential and vocal body of public opinion in the colony, was appointed. This committee interprets the law to mean that men who have not been employed for wages for a period of three months in the previous year can be compelled to work for a period of sixty days for wages for a public department. The effect would naturally be to check native progress and industry, and to make them all wage workers for the colonists.⁴⁵

Forced labor appears, along with slavery, as one of the more important social and humanitarian questions placed before the League of Nations.

⁴³ Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," pp. 393-4.

⁴⁴ Leroy-Beaulieu, Paul, "De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes," II, 151.

⁴⁵ Marvin, F. S., "Western Races and the World," pp. 219-22.

The Temporary Slavery Commission recommended that forced or compulsory labor be prohibited except for public works and services, and then only under conditions of adequate remuneration. To facilitate the transition from service or compulsory labor to free wage labor the commission urged the following measures: that peasant proprietorship and permanent crops be encouraged; that steps be taken to render wage labor attractive; that the use of currency be made more general and wages paid in cash; and finally, that the extension of education be adapted to the circumstances of the people, and participation of the natives in the conduct of their own affairs as well as in the enterprises of non-natives be promoted.⁴⁶ In accord with the draft convention drawn by the Sixth Assembly of the League the contracting parties agree to take all necessary measures to prevent conditions analogous to slavery from developing out of forced labor. It was recognized in principle that forced labor may only be exacted for public purposes, and that in territories in which it still survives for other purposes it should be adequately remunerated, of an exceptional character, and should not involve the removal of laborers from their places of residence.⁴⁷

It is unfortunate, however, that the draft is so worded that it appears to sanction compulsion for private purposes, although qualified by the statement that the demand "shall invariably be of an exceptional character." Many authorities have expressed dissent and doubt whether it is a forward step to embody a sanction, however exceptional, for forced labor for private profit in an international convention.⁴⁸

By way of résumé it is evident that wherever a territory is adapted both to the white and colored races one of the most important consequences of contact is the labor question. This is likewise true where the whites are concerned merely with superficial exploitation. The colored people are in the majority; they constitute the only available labor supply and the colonists look to them to furnish it; if they are willing to work, well and good; if unwilling, some form of coercion, whether justifiable or not, is certain to be used.

⁴⁶ Monthly Summary of the League of Nations, vol. V, no. 7 (July, 1925), pp. 181-2.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. V, no. 9 (Sept., 1925), pp. 234-5.

⁴⁸ Lugard, Sir F. D., "Slavery, Forced Labour and the League," in Nineteenth Century, vol. XCIX (Jan., 1926), pp. 81-2.

CHAPTER XXV

EASEMENT OF THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE THROUGH CONTACT

Of all the benefits of contact with civilized races accruing to primitive peoples which tend to ease the struggle for existence, the one most frequently emphasized is that civilized man taught the savage how to work and inculcated the mores of steady application to labor. This, in fact, is only a half truth. The African was accustomed to work; he had to wrest the means of his subsistence from nature as all mankind has had to do. But it was under a different culture, under different life conditions, and with a more or less direct appropriation of the bounties of nature for personal use that he was trained to expend his energy. The advent of the European, however, introduced new life conditions; tore down the old societal regulations as to labor; and the ensuing competitive struggle with advanced races negated many of the old industrial mores. The white man's presence signalled the need for a readjustment of native mores; the white man's demand for workers carried with it by means of slavery and enforced or contract labor the necessary pressure to secure that adjustment.

Other material benefits acquired by the native races consist largely of the arts of life and technical processes adopted from the superior culture groups. The negro races are noticeably deficient in inventions of their own but quite ready to imitate anything from outside which promises to ease the struggle for existence.¹ Imitation takes place unconsciously and naturally along the line of the maintenance mores, says Keller, and has then been followed by an approximation of the "lower" to the "higher" mores all along the line. "This is the normal process of acculturation, visible wherever real transmission of culture has taken place. The undeveloped race has little difficulty in appreciating and taking over the maintenance mores, the arts and crafts; here there is verification; things are seen to 'work.' And then the transmission of these has made inevitable the transfer of the rest."²

¹ Peschel, Oscar, "Races of Man," pp. 479-80.

² Keller, A. G., "Societal Evolution," p. 242.

The Kavirondo watched the proceedings of Indian agriculturalists and intelligently began to imitate their methods of irrigation. The superiority of the new means struck them forcefully.³ At Umtali in Southern Rhodesia native pupils acquired the art of irrigation from the American missionaries stationed at that place, and soon learned that they could make money by growing vegetable products. Now all the market gardening in the town of Umtali is in the hands of natives.⁴ Since the British occupation, sweet potatoes have become one of the principal crops of the Lugwari.⁵ The Batetela are eager to plant anything of value that will grow. Even without any direct encouragement on the part of the government, the people have introduced many new crops, often obtaining the seed from the garden of some white official. Whenever the Batetela observe a white man doing something, their attitude seems to suggest that they are looking on with a view to learning something that may be useful to themselves rather than to gratify idle curiosity.⁶

It is to the Portuguese that the African is largely indebted for an increase in his food supply. These early adventurers brought from China, India and Malacca the orange tree, the lemon and the lime, which they planted in every part of East and West Africa that they touched. They imported the sugar-cane from the East Indies and introduced it in various parts of West Africa, especially the islands of San Thomé and Principé, the Congo and Angola countries. They brought with them the Muscovy duck which has penetrated far into the interior of Africa; chili peppers, maize, tobacco, the tomato, yam, manioc, ginger and other forms of vegetable foods which spread by acculturation, and were cultivated by interior tribes long before they had ever heard of the existence of white men. The Portuguese also introduced many domestic animals hitherto unknown, such as the pig,⁷ the horse and certain breeds of dogs in West Africa.

In North and Central Africa credit must be given to the Arabs for introducing the horse, the camel and superior breeds of domestic fowls. Likewise their culture brought from Asia to Africa the sugar-cane, rice,

³ Eliot, Sir Chas., "The East African Protectorate," pp. 100-1.

⁴ Jones, T. J., "Education in East Africa," in the Report of the Second African Education Commission, Phelps-Stokes Fund, p. 246.

⁵ McConnell, R. E., "Notes on the Lugwari Tribe of Central Africa," in J. A. I., vol. LV (1925), p. 452.

⁶ Hilton-Simpson, M. W., "Land and Peoples of the Kasai," pp. 168-9.

⁷ The West Africans were acquainted with the wild red river hogs, but, although easily tamed and domesticated, the natives never made any determined attempt to domesticate them. Consequently the domestic pigs introduced by the Portuguese in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were eagerly received. (Johnston, Sir H. H., "Liberia," I, 75.)

onions and other products.⁸ Wherever Arab caravans settled down for any length of time they would build houses and make their own gardens, planting rice, grain, vegetables and even citrous fruit-trees; thus acculturation by the backward races was bound to take place.⁹ In a similar way some of the more enlightened chartered companies have placed before the savage the means of acquiring a better adjustment to the changing environment. Thus the Société du Madal in Zambezia has established many model agricultural stations, as well as workshops, saw mills, iron-works, brick and tile factories and boat-building yards.¹⁰

The plants which were introduced by the Arab and the Caucasian and which required little or no care in cultivation soon spread over the entire continent, so that at present they enter so deeply into the whole culture of the negro that their foreign origin would never be suspected.¹¹ Other plants, less easy to cultivate, remain confined to the coast regions occupied by the more diligent and industrious tribes and to the settlements of the Europeans and Arabs.¹²

The Herero living near white settlements show the influence of European contact in regard to their houses, which are now of a more permanent type, whereas in the more distant sections the old round hut with its mud walls and skins still prevails.¹³ Likewise the Batetela exhibit the same tendency to embrace new ideas, the old circular huts rapidly giving place to buildings of plaster, which are neatly arranged in wide streets radiating from the residence of the chief.¹⁴

The imitateness of the negro is in no case so well expressed as in the adoption of European clothing, which to him is the ear-mark of culture. The Hottentots readily adopted European dress¹⁵ probably for the purpose of protection as much as of vanity. The Masai women have abandoned their garments of dressed hides for voluminous pieces of calico, while many of the old men have taken to wearing a cloth cape over the shoulders;¹⁶ similarly the skin worn by the A-Kamba women has given place to a piece of cotton cloth called *kitanu*; the old men, and most of the young men nowadays, drape themselves in trade blankets.¹⁷ Baganda

⁸ Johnston, Sir H. H., "The Colonization of Africa," pp. 38-40. "The Uganda Protectorate," I, 210.

⁹ Lenz, Oskar, "Wanderungen in Afrika," p. 137. Bourne, H. R. F., "Civilisation in Congoland," p. 158. ¹⁰ Maugham, R. C. F., "Zambezia," pp. 107-8.

¹¹ Boas, Franz, "The Mind of Primitive Man," p. 167.

¹² Meyer, Hans, "Das Deutsche Kolonialreich," I, 77.

¹³ Dove, Dr. Karl, "Deutsch Südwestafrika," p. 185.

¹⁴ Hilton-Simpson, M. W., "Land and Peoples of the Kasai," p. 56.

¹⁵ Latrobe, C. I., "Journal of a Visit to South Africa," p. 66.

¹⁶ Johnston, Sir H. H., "The Uganda Protectorate," II, 806.

¹⁷ Hobley, C. W., "The A-Kamba and Other East African Tribes," pp. 39-42.

mores have changed to such an extent that it is a breach of etiquette for a woman not to be clothed from her hips to her ankles, though no shame is felt at showing the breasts; it is improper that any considerable part of a man's body be exposed to view between the neck and the ankles. Among the Baganda, since European fashions have become the accepted mode, a common taunt of derision alluding to their former state is, "Go to the interior and wear skins!"¹⁸ The use of clothing was first taken up by Christian converts among the Herero, but has now spread widely over the entire territory;¹⁹ likewise with the Basutos.²⁰

We have a few cases where acculturation has taken place at a very rapid pace, and with a fair measure of rational selection by the aborigines of the best of European customs. Eliot states that the Baganda are the most intelligent and progressive of the East Africans. If they continue to advance at their present rate, they will rival the Japanese in their power of assimilating European culture, and become a factor of the highest importance in the future history of the African continent. But it may prove that what happens in the individual will also happen in the race; that as the African child, after showing great quickness and power to learn, suddenly reaches a limit where development ceases and sex appetite seems to overwhelm the nascent intellect, so will the Baganda find themselves unable to endure the strain of continual progress and will stop or recede.²¹

The Zulu chief, Chaka, saw the benefits of and encouraged European commercial contact. He patterned his military and other reforms after the methods employed by the whites.²² The Bergdamara, driven from pillar to post, as it were, by their warlike neighbors, found protection near the white settlements and by 1899 many had become domiciled in a formal hut city which they had built in Windhoek. They seemed to have no difficulty in adapting themselves to the mores and customs of civilized life.²³ The Swahili readily assimilated himself to the varied conditions of life which have influenced the East Coast of Africa for the last two thousand years, and to-day he appears as a full-blown Moslem with his mosques in every village and with the usual culture of his mentor, the Arab.²⁴

In short, the natives of Africa have gained many distinct advantages in

¹⁸ Johnston, Sir H. H., "The Uganda Protectorate," II, 648-9.

¹⁹ Dove, Dr. Karl, "Deutsch Sudwestafrika," p. 184.

²⁰ Lagden, Sir Godfrey, "The Basutos," I, 298-9.

²¹ Eliot, Sir Chas., "The East African Protectorate," pp. 99-100.

²² Ratzel, Friedrich, "Völkerkunde," II, 131.

²³ Dove, Dr. Karl, "Deutsch Sudwestafrika," pp. 192-3.

²⁴ Pearce, F. B., "Zanzibar," p. 263.

the competitive struggle for existence as a result of their association with races of superior culture. The white man taught the negro how to work and inculcated in him the mores of steady application to labor as approved by our civilized code. The Africans have been the beneficiaries of innumerable plants and food products, of domestic animals and of improved tools and implements, to say nothing of new technical processes and methods, all of which have been introduced to them by civilized man.

CHAPTER XXVI

INTENSIFICATION OF THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE CONSERVATISM

When the contact of "higher" and "lower" race groups occurs, it is inevitable that a clash of culture takes place which invariably demands a long series of adjustments, especially on the part of the backward races. Their environment and their societal customs are suddenly upset. The "higher" race is seldom tolerant of existing mores in the subject races—sweeping reforms in religion, marriage, morals and the industrial organization are simultaneously insisted upon to bring the backward races to conformity with the mores of the advanced society. The first adjustments must take place in the industrial organization; the others will follow. But the impatience of civilized man and the strong conservatism of the savage pile one maladaptation upon another in rapid succession. The former cannot and will not wait for normal adjustment to take place, the latter is unable to adapt himself to such sudden changes. "Nothing," says Stigand, "upsets a native so much as new conditions."¹ The immediate result is that competition is quite one-sided, and instead of the struggle for existence being eased for primitive man it is considerably intensified by the interposition of new obstacles.

Let us now turn our attention to some of the specific factors which have tended to make the fight for the unadjusted savage a losing one in the struggle for existence. The most serious drawback to rapid adjustment is the rock-bound conservatism of the nature peoples. To them their developed folkways are the "right" ways to satisfy all interests. They are traditional and exist in fact; they extend over the whole of life. "The 'right' way is the way which the ancestors used and which has been handed down. The tradition is its own warrant."² Thus the Wakikuyu in East Africa persist in wearing their ancestral styles of dress and look down upon the young bloods who ape the fashions of the white man. Van den Bergh used to clothe a dozen or so young women every Sunday at his mission station, explaining to them the necessity of clothing and

¹ Stigand, C. H., "Hunting the Elephant in Africa," p. 156.

² Sumner, W. G., "Folkways," p. 28.

the difference between Sunday and weekdays, until it was pointed out to him that the girls went straightway into the market where they disposed of the cloth to the Swahili traders for a bit of meat or fish.³

Veneration for the old customs and mores is very much stronger in the women than in the men, and stronger in the old men than in the younger generation. This is undoubtedly because the men, especially the younger set, are in more frequent association with the whites. In spite of the fact that the Batetela men have discarded their native-made loin cloths in favor of European cotton stuffs, and that a man will wear any European garment he can lay hands on, the women remain loyal to their ancient customs of dress.⁴ Miss Kingsley asserts that the women are the most important factors in the distrust for European civilization: first, because they know practically nothing about European customs; they dislike innovations, and missionary and other forms of white education have rarely been available to them; second, because they do know of European culture from external appearances and see it in the worst forms. They see it as an evil thing for their boys and girls, luring them from the restraints of their native culture and leading them to lives of dissipation, disgrace and decay.⁵ The A-Kamba women are extremely opposed to newfangled ideas. The men also appear very conservative and will often maintain that it is impossible for them to forget their old traditions and customs; but it is to be noted that when the old mores impose restrictions upon the young men, as, for example, the exclusive right of the old men to drink honey-beer, the young bloods have no difficulty in overcoming the traditional custom. Apparently the rigidity of the old mores is broken down by European influence which seems to say, "Don't mind the old men."⁶

The Fang are very reluctant to adopt reforms or to introduce new methods; they are the slaves of custom and have a superstitious dread of departing from their ancestral habits.⁷ The A-Kamba, though in touch with civilization for a long time, have never adopted the iron hoe and persist in doing their work in the fields with a pointed digging stick.⁸ At Lado Emin Bey informed Junker that the natives would not accustom themselves to the use of new methods, but Junker adds that he did not experience much difficulty in getting his men to use wheelbarrows instead

³ Van den Bergh, J. D., "On the Trail of the Pigmies," pp. 95-6; 162.

⁴ Hilton-Simpson, M. W., "Land and Peoples of the Kasai," p. 44.

⁵ Kingsley, Mary H., "West African Studies," pp. 375-7.

⁶ Dundas, Chas., "History of Kitui" in J. A. I., vol. XLIII (1913), p. 488.

⁷ Bennett, A. L., "Ethnographical Notes on the Fang," in J. A. I., vol. XXIX (1899), p. 80.

⁸ Hobley, C. W., "The A-Kamba and Other East African Tribes," p. 21.

of carrying the goods on their heads.⁹ The King of Agbome prohibited foreign luxuries to his people, and would not allow them to cultivate whydah coffee, sugar-cane, rice or tobacco.¹⁰ The abhorrence of the cannibal Quissama for the Portuguese in Angola prevents them from adopting any of the customs or habits of the latter.¹¹ A striking example of the effects of extreme conservatism is offered by the Congo natives. Nothing can induce them to give up their staple food *chikwanga*, which is made from the pounded root of the manioc plant. It is observed that "the Congo natives all die young—I only saw a dozen old men—because they are insufficiently nourished. The *chikwanga* is filling but not fattening. This is why sleeping sickness takes such dreadful toll . . . meat has become a luxury. Although the natives have chickens in abundance they seldom eat one for the reason that it is more profitable to sell them to the white man."¹²

Let us now inquire into the reasons for this extreme conservatism on the part of primitive peoples when faced with the choice of new and better adjustments to an environment greatly modified from that enjoyed by their ancestors. One of the reasons is ancestor worship; the other is fear of magic.

"The ancestors, recent and long past, the spirits and invisible powers of every sort which people the air, the waters, the earth itself and even the rocks, all found in the limits of the locality occupied by the social group, 'belong' to it in the mystic sense of the word. Reciprocally the tribe is bound to the locality and to the invisible powers which dwell there and make their action felt. The slightest contact with the unknown, the simple fact of receiving from strangers food or implements, may produce catastrophes. Who knows how such or such an occult power might be affected and what might be the result. From that ensue the signs of fear and defiance, which the whites interpret often as hostility, and then bloodshed, reprisals, and sometimes extermination of the group."¹³

Against the magic words "our custom" all argument is unavailing to the Kafir. "What would the spirits of our forefathers say if we break with our custom? Their anger would be such as to render sterile our women and our fields, and the white man would finish by 'eating up' the entire land."¹⁴

⁹ Junker, W., "Travels in Africa," p. 375.

¹⁰ Burton, R. F., "The King of Dahomé," I, 181.

¹¹ Price, F. G. H., "A Description of the Quissama Tribe," in J. A. I., vol. I (1871), p. 188.

¹² Marcossou, Isaac F., "An African Adventure," p. 182.

¹³ Lévy-Bruhl, L., "La mentalité primitive," p. 446-7.

¹⁴ Müller, Ägidius, "Wahrsagerei bei den Kaffern," in Anthropos, vol. II (1907), p. 48.

The savage will eat only foods which past experience has guaranteed and whose beneficent effect is explained by the mystic relations established between the social group and certain species of animals and vegetables. Eating is an act which not only satisfies an elemental need for him, but which has great significance and mystic consequences. The substance of the food is incorporated into that of the man who eats it; it becomes part of himself. Thus we find that in many primitive societies every one gathers up the remainder of his meal and throws it into the water, burns it or destroys it in some way, for these left-overs, falling into the hands of an enemy, would make him master of the imprudent person's life. No wonder, then, that the nature peoples mistrust whatever is unknown and take so many precautions. What evil powers may be hidden in the food of so harmless an appearance offered to him by strangers of a different culture!

The primitive mind, when faced with new inventions or other phenomena, gives no attention to a series of objective and visible causes and effects; on the contrary, it jumps at once to a mystic cause. Thus if a Congo native were to manufacture a knife in European fashion, whereas we should admire his initiative and perseverance, his neighbors would be struck with the distressing novelty of the result. How could a knife like that of the whites come from a native smithy if the man did not have a magic power at his disposal? He is therefore suspected and mistrusted.¹⁵ Certainly this reacts as a powerful check upon native incentive and progress.

It is interesting to observe the reaction on the part of the negroes to the use of medicine, bearing in mind their deep convictions about magic. Torday gave Mapanda, an old chief of the Congo who was unable to walk, some arnica with which to rub his legs. The remedy was effective but excited grave dissatisfaction in the neighborhood, for the people said, "Mapanda finds it difficult enough to die as it is, and if this stranger supplies him with drugs like this, he will assuredly live forever."¹⁶

According to the native's way of thinking, to cure an illness is to conquer the charm which has caused the malady by means of a more powerful charm. Sickness proves the existence of the evil power in the body; the cure takes place when the doctor expurgates the evil. They will submit to long and complicated treatment, but they never ask why they must follow directions. The directions are unimportant to them, and they expect the cure to be produced instantly. Thus it frequently happens

¹⁵ Lévy-Bruhl, L., "La mentalité primitive," pp. 449-50; 460-1.

¹⁶ Torday, E., "Camp and Tramp in African Wilds," p. 69.

that medicine dispensed among savages, no matter how explicit the directions, causes more harm than good, for logic tells them that the greater the quantity taken the more effective must be the cure.¹⁷

The confusion in the African mind between European medicine and magic is well illustrated by the Basutos, who have long been in contact with European culture. The government placed doctors at Lesuto, and offered medical service to natives at a very low fee of five centimes for every remedy or consultation so that the blacks might receive the benefits of the service. Two hospitals have also been established. The Basutos reasoned thus: "The remedies of the government doctors are worth nothing; they are only water. What could they afford to give for ten sous but water? At the hospital they will take away your clothes and you will never see them again. They will deprive you of food, and when anyone dies they put the body in a special room in order to cut it up in pieces." Furthermore, "the blacks think that the whites wish to do them evil. . . . They do not believe them disinterested. The length of time required for a cure awakens their suspicions. What can be the intention of the white doctor who retains them thus? What is he going to practise upon them?"¹⁸

Other factors which tend to hinder the rapid adjustment of African tribes to the new conditions imposed by contact with the Caucasian race are psychological in nature. Thus it is frequently noted that the individuals of the primitive group are susceptible to the deepest envy. Any Kafir who, through the adoption of European methods or otherwise, rises above the commonalty in possessions is liable to decapitation and confiscation of his property through a charge of witchcraft. This envy renders progress towards civilization exceedingly difficult.¹⁹ Likewise Bantu socialism hinders more perfect adjustment in the struggle for existence. The spirit of enterprise is restrained, even crushed by the ever-present fear of exciting the envy and cupidity of one's fellows. If a man builds a better house than his neighbor he will have his house pulled down. If he exerts himself to cultivate, breed animals, or amass riches, he courts the enmity of his fellows and is doomed to an early death.²⁰ Sometimes a survival or reversion to old customs, especially those which lead to the destruction of property, hinders the progress of native races, even when under the influence of white civilization. Thus at the large mission station

¹⁷ Marcossou, Isaac F., "An African Adventure," p. 183.

¹⁸ Lévy-Bruhl, L., "La mentalité primitive," pp. 484-5, 492.

¹⁹ Dowd, J., "The Negro Races," II, 272.

²⁰ Campbell, Dugald, "In the Heart of Bantuland," p. 44. Cf. McDonald, Duff, "Africana," II, 306-7.

at Marianhill in March, 1906, the Kaffirs killed and buried their swine, which represented a fair proportion of their wealth, because a witch-doctor pointed it out as a desire emanating from the late Zulu king, Dinizulu.²¹

The importance of the introduction of alcohol and of firearms by the white man cannot be overestimated in considering the loss occasioned to the native African in his increasingly difficult struggle for existence. It must not be thought, however, that drunkenness was a new vice acquired through the European. The absence of pure water and the frequent drying up of streams compelled the natives to resort to various kinds of native beer, but more especially to spirits distilled from palm sap, honey or grain, which could be more readily preserved than beer. Furthermore, the heat of the African sun, together with the moisture in the air, creates an acute desire for stimulants. The negro, in his native state, was quite prone to excess in every direction and incapable of moderation. Thus even in areas where the white man's drink has never penetrated, drunkenness is prevalent. But the important fact is that the effect of native stimulants is much less disastrous than that of European liquors; a much smaller quantity of European distilled liquor produces an immediate effect.²² In the early days of white contact wine was brought to Africa by the Portuguese as a beverage absolutely necessary for their own use; but at first the negroes do not appear to have enjoyed it, preferring their own alcoholic drinks. Very little notice of European alcohol seems to have been taken in African trade until the seventeenth century when distillation created such strong drinks as gin and rum.²³

Once the potency of the imported liquor was known to the negro, its use became permanent in West Africa. It was introduced by traders coming in search of ivory, gold and negro slaves. It soon became an indispensable article in concluding bargains with the natives, who, urged to drink freely, were easily led to part with their goods on terms little advantageous to themselves. The factors used to justify this mode of proceeding on the ground that it was impossible to induce a negro to traffic while sober; that his caprice and irresolution were so great that he would spend hours, and even days in cavilling about the smallest bargain, and perhaps at last go away without concluding it upon any terms.²⁴ Occasionally the natives have been made acquainted with European methods

²¹ Müller, Ägidius, "Wahrsagerei bei den Kaffern," in *Anthropos*, vol. II (1907), p. 49.

²² MacDonald, A. J., "Trade, Politics and Christianity in Africa and the East," pp. 62-3.

²³ Johnston, Sir H. H., "Liberia," I, 75.

²⁴ Howison, John, "Views of the Colonies," I, 119-21.

of distilling by travelers without a thought as to future consequences. Thus Baker relates that he taught the natives of Unyoro how to distil whiskey from sweet potatoes in 1864,²⁵ and Lugard observed in 1890 that they had not forgotten the art.²⁶

In some regions of Africa gin forms the currency for all commercial transactions, having ousted cloth as a medium of exchange. Its advantage for such a purpose lay in the high esteem in which the natives held it; moreover, it was most easily transported in small quantities of great value, and did not deteriorate in value like cloth which is quickly ruined by the torrential rains and the attacks of ants. It is quite possible that the convenience and popularity of gin as a means of exchange with the native races have encouraged the traders to stimulate the traffic. Of recent years, however, the government has introduced a silver and nickel currency in West Africa, and it is said to be gradually taking the place of the gin-bottle as currency.²⁷

We have no figures to illustrate the rapidity with which the traffic in West Africa spread, but about the time the trade began to develop in that territory England consumed some 550,000 gallons of spirituous liquors, and seventy years later over 20,000,000 gallons. It is hard to conceive of a proportionately less ratio in West Africa among a people who lacked the moral restraints of the European, and who had only to gather the bounties of nature desired by the Europeans in order to get the wherewithal to purchase the coveted spirits. There existed no economic or moral checks to hinder the consumption of European liquors by the natives. Southern Nigeria affords a good illustration of the rapid growth of the liquor traffic.²⁸ From 1900-1908, a period of nine years, the value of imported spirits equaled 27 per cent. of the total imports, and rose from £1,946,000 in 1900 to £4,284,800 in 1908.

The use of gin has become so ingrained upon the commercial relationship of the white and black races that the majority of both groups openly assert that without gin trade could not be carried on, or if it were, the volume would be greatly diminished. One chief used the words, "No gin, no trade."²⁹ Such being the state of affairs, it is little wonder that the European governments either sanctioned or offered no resistance to

²⁵ Baker, Sir S. W., "The Albert Nyanza or the Great Basin of the Nile," p. 434.

²⁶ Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," p. 604.

²⁷ MacDonald, A. J., "Trade, Politics and Christianity in Africa and the East," pp. 90-1.

²⁸ See Appendix, pp. 365-6, showing growth of liquor traffic in Southern Nigeria, Gold Coast, and Sierra Leone.

²⁹ MacDonald, A. J., "Trade, Politics and Christianity in Africa and the East," pp. 64, 89.

the liquor traffic. It was not until 1901 that an order was passed in West Africa forbidding the payment of fines in gin to the court, but little heed was given to the regulation. Thus MacDonald in 1916 writes, "John Epe, a court clerk at Brass, who was criminated for embezzlement of over fifty cases of gin of Court fines about two years ago was sentenced to ten years imprisonment . . . and is at this present time serving in prison in Old Calabar." And again, "The Resident Medical Officer from the hospital at Lagos gave evidence to the effect that fines had been paid in gin at several courts in the Brass District. On one occasion . . . in the presence of the District Commissioner, he had counted the cases, and looked at the bottles to see if they were not half filled with water. . . . The gin received as a fine was cashed by the native clerk or the district clerk. One case was received for 10s. The clerk sold the case for what he could get, paying 10s. into the Treasury, and retaining the balance for himself."³⁰

The government of Southern Nigeria has played the rôle of guardian of the liquor traffic. A few years ago the Bale of Idaben, i.e., the head chief, either from an objection to a new license fee imposed by the government, or because of conscientious scruples concerning the effect of gin upon his people, forbade his subjects to purchase spirits. Immediately the traders complained to the government which thereupon suspended the Bale's stipend on the ground that he was exceeding his powers by interfering with the trade of the colony. The Colonial Secretary held that the Bale was within his rights in advising his people not to purchase spirits, but he exceeded them when he forbade the transactions. Fear of the attitude of the British government was ascribed by the religious head of the Mohammedans in Southern Nigeria as the reason why he dared not openly oppose the liquor traffic.³¹

The evil effects of European policy permitting the unrestricted importation of spirits are readily apparent. One of the principal reasons assigned for the rapid decline of the Hottentots was the abuse of spirituous liquors.³² The break-up of the social customs and life of the A-Kamba, as well as the disintegration of their political organization, are largely the results of drunkenness. With the cessation of warfare, and therefore less demand for hardiness, the sole occupation of the young men ceased, and now they spend their lives in a constant state of intoxication.³³ A com-

³⁰ MacDonald, A. J., "Trade, Politics and Christianity in Africa and the East," pp. 94-5.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

³² Howison, John, "Views of the Colonies," I, 234.

³³ Dundas, Chas., "History of Kitui," in J. A. I., vol. XLIII (1913), p. 490.

mittee appointed by Lord Crowe in 1909 negatived the view that the liquor trade was responsible for the physical deterioration and for the decline in the birth rate in West Africa. This was in direct conflict with the report of the "United Committee" which in 1887 asserted that liquor was resulting in wholesale race deterioration. Lugard thinks the findings of the two reports may be reconciled by the improvement in the quality of liquor between these dates. The source of liquor was increasingly from Germany, Holland and the United States. Just before the war Germany controlled 90 per cent. of the Nigerian trade, and the United States was responsible for over 60 per cent. of the Gold Coast supply.³⁴

The insatiable thirst for European intoxicants is largely responsible for the survival of debt slavery in Yorubaland, in spite of the fact that the British government will not recognize the custom and does all in its power to discourage it. A native bishop testified that the people bought gin, not because they had the money to spend, but because they could not help buying it, and in order to make the purchase they pawned their children or themselves and ran into debt. Persons thus pawned remained as slaves until redeemed. The same was true in Abeokuta. Sometimes £40 or £50 was spent on spirits at a funeral, and it was customary for the natives to pawn their children. More children were pawned for drink than for anything else.³⁵

The earliest attempt to protect the aborigines from unrestricted liquor traffic occurred in 1889 when the matter was included in the work of the Brussels Conference. By ratification of the Brussels Act the Powers agreed that total prohibition, except for non-natives, should be enforced in that part of Africa lying between N. lat. 20° and S. lat. 22°, in which the use of distilled liquor had not been developed; elsewhere a specified duty was to be imposed as a minimum, subject to revision after six years.³⁶ However, the intended effects of the restrictions were largely nullified, as usually occurs where prohibition applies only to the blacks and exempts the whites through whom it reaches the natives. It is the same in South Africa where prohibition of a similar sort has long been in effect.³⁷

In accord with the policy of the Brussels Act the duties were gradually raised in British West Africa until they had been more than trebled from 1892 to 1913, but, contrary to expectations, the quantity imported more

³⁴ Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," pp. 600-1.

³⁵ Minutes of Evidence in Report of Commission of Inquiry into the Liquor Trade of Southern Nigeria, pp. 43-6, 166, 171, 248. Cited in MacDonald, A. J., "Trade, Politics and Christianity in Africa and the East," pp. 80-1.

³⁶ Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," p. 597.

³⁷ MacDonald, A. J., "Trade, Politics and Christianity in Africa and the East," p. 66.

than doubled while the revenue derived from the duties increased eight-fold. When Lugard assumed the government of Southern and Northern Nigeria he tried the experiment of rapidly raising the duties each year with the intention of crushing the trade. The results were quite satisfactory up to the time of the World War, which proved an even more effective agent by closing the ports of Hamburg and Rotterdam from which most of the liquor had been shipped.

The common belief, hitherto held by merchants and others, that the negro would not produce raw materials for export except in exchange for spirits, was shattered by the facts in Nigeria, for the value of native products exported in 1917 was the highest on record.³⁸ It is worthy of note in this connection that the vigor of the Bantu races, particularly of the Basutos,³⁹ was largely due to the prohibitory measures enforced by the native chiefs and assisted more recently by official restrictions.⁴⁰

Writing in 1914, Harris said, "The Belgians lead the way among the colonizing nations in West Africa, for in their colony they are bringing the prohibition line ever nearer the coast and it is impossible even in the 'open' areas for a native to purchase any intoxicating liquor between Friday night and Monday morning. . . . In Angola the government (Portuguese) has recently decreed the abolition of distilleries throughout the colony, providing out of their extreme poverty, considerable sums as compensation for the manufacturers. . . . France to-day recognizes the terrible evils which follow in the train of absinthe-drinking in the homeland, yet she can calmly look on whilst the natives stream into the little drink stores of French Congo with their 25 cent pieces to purchase 'nips' of what I was assured by the vendor was the worst form of drink in the whole of the African continent."⁴¹ Late in 1914, however, the French government took a forward step by abolishing the sale of absinthe in the colonies.

The first concerted act by the colonizing powers in Africa since the Brussels Convention for the protection of the native populations with respect to the liquor traffic occurred on the 10th of September, 1919, when a convention was entered into by France, Italy, Belgium, Portugal, Japan, the United States and the British Empire. Article 22 of the Treaty of Versailles, however, had already pledged its signatories to the "prohibition

³⁸ Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," pp. 598-9.

³⁹ See Appendix, p. 366, for ordinance by Moshesh against the sale of intoxicants.

⁴⁰ MacDonald, A. J., "Trade, Politics and Christianity in Africa and the East," p. 66.

⁴¹ Harris, John H., "Dawn in Darkest Africa," pp. 99-100.

of such abuses . . . as the liquor traffic." This convention prohibits throughout the territories of tropical Africa under their respective control "the importation, distribution, sale, and possession of trade spirits of every kind, and of beverages mixed with these spirits," together with certain other "distilled beverages injurious to health." Upon all other distilled beverages a minimum duty was fixed.⁴² Inasmuch as Algeria, Tunis, Morocco, Libya, Egypt and South Africa are exempted by the agreement it would seem that the provisions are not decisive enough to stop fraudulent traffic.⁴³ In spite of all agreements and attempts to curb the consumption of spirituous liquors, imports into the Gold Coast have increased considerably in recent years.⁴⁴ In French Togoland the increase in imports of distilled and spirituous liquors for the year 1925 over 1924 is as follows: gin, 60 per cent., whiskey and rum, 50 per cent. The French account for this exceptional increase in consumption by explaining that the natives are now earning more money, and that the dealers, fearing an increase in the customs duty, have laid in larger stocks.⁴⁵

Quite analogous to the introduction of liquor in the evil effects produced among primitive peoples has been the sale to them of arms and ammunition. By their use many of the interior tribes have considerably reduced their means of existence. Indiscriminate slaughter has caused the ivory trade to fall into decay in Uganda and Unyoro.⁴⁶ Lenz asserts that the tusks exported would indicate a slaughter ranging from 30,000 to 50,000 animals per year. The natives were indifferent as to whether they killed male or female, old or young.⁴⁷ The desire for arms, ammunition, and other goods frequently abetted the slave trade. The African father, having by custom the rights of property over his children, did not hesitate to sell them in order to secure the coveted articles from the trader.⁴⁸ Once the more warlike tribes such as the Zulus, who were organized and trained in European military tactics by their chiefs, Diniswayo and Chaka, were in possession of firearms, they kept the country in perpetual warfare and annihilated tribe after tribe.⁴⁹ The Hottentot would sacrifice almost anything to secure a gun, for the old weapons, bow and arrow, and spear,

⁴² Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," p. 599.

⁴³ Antonelli, Étienne, "L'Afrique et la paix de Versailles," pp. 249-50.

⁴⁴ Permanent Mandates Commission, League of Nations. "Minutes of the Tenth Session" (1926), p. 187.

⁴⁵ Permanent Mandates Commission, League of Nations. "Minutes of the Ninth Session" (1926), p. 87.

⁴⁶ Kollman, Paul, "The Victoria Nyanza," p. 40.

⁴⁷ Lenz, Oskar, "Wanderungen in Afrika," pp. 211-2.

⁴⁸ Du Chaillu, P. B., "Explorations in Equatorial Africa," p. 381.

⁴⁹ MacDonald, J., "Manners, Customs, Superstitions and Religion of South African Tribes," in J. A. I., vol. XX (1890), p. 113.

were reserved for children, and would place him on a level with the despised bush people.⁵⁰

The Cape government early pursued a restrictive policy in the sale of arms and ammunition to the natives, but inasmuch as the whites could purchase unlimited quantities there arose an extensive smuggling trade between the Boers and the natives. Some of the border tribes, such as the Bechuanas who were unable to get arms, were left defenseless against the attacks of their stronger neighbors.⁵¹

The next decisive step toward restricting the sale of firearms to the natives was a provision in the Brussels Act. But this has been repeatedly violated, especially in the Congo where the state has traded openly in guns and powder. These were sold to the chiefs for ivory. Trading firms, however, were not allowed to deal in guns and powder, for those cases, the state conscientiously maintained, were contrary to the stipulations of the Brussels Conference.⁵²

The 23rd article of the Treaty of Versailles charges the League of Nations with the general control of commerce or trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which this trade is necessary for the common interest. The convention signed September 10, 1919, is more definite in this regard, for it prohibits the importation of all arms and ammunition into Africa and adjacent islands. It does not apply, however, to Algeria, Libya and the Union of South Africa.⁵³

It seems to be an almost universal rule that where primitive races come in contact with civilized groups they lose whatever cultural attainments they may have developed in the past. The presence of the white man and his products virtually puts an end to native industry and manufacture. The fact is that we have here an illustration of the well-known economic law of comparative advantages. The white man's goods are generally superior. Some products cannot be produced at all by the native races; others can be had only at great cost of time and effort. But raw materials sought by Europeans can be obtained with much less expenditure of time and labor. The consequence is that the African ceases to practise his native arts and industry, and after one or two generations they are lost entirely. The native becomes a wasteful exploiter of nature's bounties. But that cannot last forever, and he is forced to enter the ranks of the lowest grade of labor minus the technical skill and perseverance of his forbears. Thus he suffers a noticeable loss.

⁵⁰ Schmidt, Rochus, "Deutschlands Kolonien," II, 227.

⁵¹ Livingstone, D., "Travels and Researches in Africa," p. 402.

⁵² Bourne, H. R. F., "Civilisation in Congoland," p. 138.

⁵³ Antonelli, Etienne, "L'Afrique et la paix de Versailles," p. 250.

A few examples may serve to clarify this. In the early days of European commerce with the natives of West Africa cotton goods were never included among those commodities intended to lure the savage to trade. Strange to say, it was the natives of the Gambia and other rivers of Northern Guinea, and of Cape Mount in Liberia, that impressed the Europeans with the excellence of their cotton fabrics and actually sent some cotton goods to Portugal. Cotton is indigenous to almost all parts of tropical Africa. The negro, long before the coming of the white man, obtained from the Arabs a knowledge of spinning cotton and weaving it into cloth. So successful were the natives that this developed into one of their principal industries. Probably no cotton goods were exported from Europe until the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries. Since that time the cheap cotton goods of Lancashire, of Germany and of Barcelona have virtually killed the local industries.⁵⁴ As late as 1795-97 Mungo Park observed the arts of weaving, dyeing and the like were so commonplace among the Mandingoes, that those who exercised them were not thought of as following any particular profession.⁵⁵ In British Central Africa native cloth has largely disappeared since European materials, usually very inferior to it in quality, have been easier to obtain. Likewise the manufacture of bark-cloth is a vanishing industry and is now used only on ceremonial occasions.⁵⁶ The Basonge no longer produce or wear native cloth, its place having been entirely taken by the cheaper cotton goods from Europe which form the present currency in the country.⁵⁷

Another rapidly declining industry is iron working. Park observed that the manufacturers of iron among the Mandingoes had ceased to do their own smelting because of the cheapness of the European product. In the interior, however, the native smiths continued to manufacture iron for their own and for commercial uses.⁵⁸ Most of the metal workers among the A-Kamba use imported trade wire at the present time, but some in the Machakos district continue to collect their own iron ore for smelting.⁵⁹ In Central Africa hoes used to be made by the native smith; to-day they are purchased at a trader's store and fixed into a handle by the purchaser. In this region the furnaces have disappeared and the smith's work con-

⁵⁴ Johnston, Sir H. H., "Liberia," I, 72-3.

⁵⁵ Park, Mungo, "Travels," p. 421.

⁵⁶ Werner, A., "The Native Races of British Central Africa," pp. 195, 200-1.

⁵⁷ Hilton-Simpson, M. W., "Land and Peoples of the Kasai," p. 37.

⁵⁸ Park, Mungo, "Travels," p. 423. "Life and Travels of Mungo Park" (Harper & Bros., N. Y., 1840), pp. 130-1.

⁵⁹ Hobley, C. W., "The A-Kamba and Other East African Tribes," p. 29.

sists in hammering scraps of imported iron, hoops from packing cases and the like, into small knives and other articles.⁶⁰

The chief of the Mushenge (of the Bashongo group) remarked that the skill and renown of his people in wood-carving was rapidly dying out with the advent of white contact.⁶¹ Miss Werner informs us that wood-carving is becoming a lost art in Central Africa. She attributes this to the fact that only settled tribes have the leisure to undertake such work and can do so with a reasonable expectation of finishing it. Contact with the whites and warlike native tribes of late years has driven the former wood-workers from bush to bush, and made it impossible to continue the art of their forefathers.⁶²

Dowd explains the decline of native arts thus, "One of the effects of the contact with European peoples and products was at first to cause the natives to imitate the articles of foreign manufacture, such as glass and gunpowder, and, but for the slave trade and other mistaken policies of the white man which disorganized the whole economic life of the natives, there is no telling what strides would have been made in all lines of industry."⁶³ The evidence, however, seems to point to the fact that native industry, producing goods at great cost of time and labor, must disappear when brought in competition with the cheaper goods manufactured under the industrial system prevailing in the civilized world. The native African will not engage in unprofitable production.

Very often what appears to be a marked step forward proves unfavorable to the native peoples in final analysis. The population in Basutoland has been increasing so rapidly with the cessation of tribal warfare as to threaten overcrowding of the land on the present stage of the arts. The unusually high prices paid for wool during and since the World War have stimulated sheep-raising and goat-keeping to such an extent as to absorb land needed for cultivation. Sheep are depasturing the hills and mountains, thus causing erosion of the fertile soil and limiting future agricultural possibilities of the land. Many chiefs have encouraged sheep-raising as an alternative to modern farming which necessitates fencing, an infringement of communal rights.⁶⁴ Shantz informs us that there is danger in a too rapid development of money crops among the aborigines. Native thrift is reduced because of too great an income with little labor.

⁶⁰ Werner, A., "The Native Races of British Central Africa," pp. 180, 202.

⁶¹ Hilton-Simpson, M. W., "Land and Peoples of the Kasai," p. 194.

⁶² Werner, A., "The Native Races of British Central Africa," p. 204.

⁶³ Dowd, J., "The Negro Races," I. 108. Cf. statements by Lévy-Bruhl and Torday, *supra*, pp. 268-9.

⁶⁴ Jones, T. J., "Education in East Africa," in the Report of the Second African Education Commission, Phelps-Stokes Fund, p. 270.

Expenditures go for more wives, which means greater acreage, but there is no foresight leading to an accumulation of wealth for the future of one's self and family. This is especially true with respect to the cotton crop in Uganda.⁶⁵

It must now be apparent to the reader that, although the native races of Africa have profited in many ways as a consequence of contact with a superior culture, they have also suffered innumerable disadvantages in their struggle for existence. The savage by nature is extremely conservative. There is only one right way, and that is the way of his ancestors. Thus he is restrained from voluntarily making those alterations in his mode of living which are necessitated by changed life conditions ensuing from the presence of the white man. Furthermore, the introduction of firearms and of European intoxicants far more powerful than those of native production among a people lacking foresight and restraint is an important phase of contact with civilization which has produced untold harm to the aborigines. Likewise the decline of native arts and industries is an inevitable result of the competition occasioned by the highly developed industrial organization of the white man.

⁶⁵ Shantz, H. L., "Agriculture in East Africa," in the Report of the Second African Education Commission, Phelps-Stokes Fund, p. 364.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE AFRICAN LAND QUESTION

Under the conditions of life prevailing in Africa at the time of the first contact with the white races and, indeed, virtually to the present, an extensive utilization of land has been necessary to provide the native peoples with the means of subsistence. It is not until comparatively recent times that the uncivilized races have been forced to discard their old mores centered about the food quest and to adopt new ones leading to a more intensive utilization of land and its resources.

The pressure against the old mores has been directed from several angles since the white man first began to appropriate the choicest bits of African territory. Among the purely hunting tribes land had no value; they had no idea of property rights existing in land. It was present in great abundance and no labor had been expended upon it. But with an increase in population and the resulting conflict of groups seeking better maintenance, the notion of tribal ownership arose and definite bounds were fixed. This process had been going on slowly in the forest regions of Africa, but it was rapidly accelerated by the presence of the whites, who either invaded the territories in question or drove the frontier tribes back until they came in conflict with the interior hunting peoples. The result was that the notion of property became much more clearly defined as competition and scarcity developed. The forest tribes to-day jealously maintain that all unoccupied land belongs to some community or other.¹

With respect to the nomads of Africa a similar growth of ideas regarding land has taken place. The nomad's value concept applied at first to his cattle alone. But in time the pressure of population and the frequent contact with other groups, both black and white, who coveted the territories in which the nomad had been wont to pasture his cattle, tended to produce scarcity and then his value concept was carried over to the land. The Herero regards it as a violation of the rights of his people if another seeks pasturage on the ground which he is using.² Where, however, the pastoral group is not confined to particular regions by the encroachments

¹ Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," p. 287.

² Dove, Dr. Karl, "Deutsch Sudwestafrika," p. 189. Also Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," p. 287.

of others, the property notion either does not develop or evolves very slowly. For example, in South Africa Governor Janssens assigned land to the Hottentots, but in a few years the people wandered away, probably attracted by better pastures to which no one asserted ownership. The succeeding governors treated the land which the Hottentots thus abandoned as waste.³

Among the African tribes living on the early agricultural stage we find the concept of property in land scarcely developed while great abundance exists. The crops are planted annually. Adverse possession is maintained while the crops are growing, though beyond that no further notion of property rights is found. But in well populated areas and where contact with outsiders is taking place, the property idea has become well crystallized. Ownership is, however, usually confined to the tribe or to the family. Each individual has a right to the use of the land and holds that right in perpetuity, subject to the performance of tribal obligations. Assignment of land to individuals is entrusted to the family or tribal authorities who, however, have no claim to ownership in it themselves.⁴ A native chief examined by the West African Lands Committee explained the situation in these words, "I conceive that land belongs to a vast family, of which many are dead, few are living, and countless numbers are yet unborn." The ownership is vested in the community as a whole,⁵ but every member of the community has an individual right to share in the bounties which he helps to produce. Since the land is thought of as belonging to the community, i.e., the family or clan, the individual does not have the power to alienate the land. To the native mind, uninfluenced by foreign ideas, land is an unsalable thing. It is usual for the chief to stand in the relation of trustee and to hold the land for the benefit of the group. "We have power to dispose of the land; we cannot sell the land; no chief can sell the land," said a Lagos chief in evidence before the Supreme Court.⁶

It is this concept of trusteeship by the chief which was incomprehensible to the white colonists. The purchase money, which they regarded as full payment for the land and all its appurtenances, was never thought of by the natives as granting freehold rights; in their minds it was only a right of occupancy.⁷ Thus among the Temné all lands are vested in the kings in trust for the nation or tribe; the lands are never alienated,

³ Theal, George M'C., "South Africa," p. 130.

⁴ Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," p. 287.

⁵ Morel, E. D., "The Black Man's Burden," p. 200.

⁶ Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," p. 305.

⁷ Ilarris, John H., "Dawn in Darkest Africa," pp. 159-60.

but may be granted on what is called a *lambê* with the understanding that they cannot be mortgaged, transferred or in any way negotiated, as that duty devolves upon the king alone. The *lambê* is at once a customary, deferential and complimentary present made to the king on a formal application for a certain privilege; it is a gift to him in respect of a favor desired, and is never accepted unless the king in conference with his chiefs and officers is willing to grant such a privilege; otherwise it is returned. The *lambê*, however, is never a valuable consideration; it is never intended as such, and is never refused on grounds of inadequacy. This fact probably explains why the Europeans could offer, and why a chief would accept such small presents for land. The chief had granted a *lambê* for which no valuable consideration was necessary. The settlers thought they had purchased a freehold. This view is supported by a review of events in Sierra Leone. The original *lambê* for the settlement was composed of an old military cloak, an old beaver hat, some rum, salt meat, tobacco and a few iron pots. Captain Thompson reported that he had purchased the land. But in 1789 the chiefs decided to terminate the *lambê* and gave the settlers three days' notice to quit. The settlers resisted and the natives ravaged the settlement. Finally the chiefs agreed to renew the *lambê* and accepted further presents. The same situation again developed in 1800. The entire trouble arose from the confusion of the native custom of *lambê* grants with the English idea of a sale of land.⁸

On the Gold Coast we find an even greater confusion in regard to ownership of land. In the larger coast cities and the surrounding territory the English law is applied almost exclusively. European concessionaires holding land devised to them in deeds drawn by native barristers understand that they hold title under English law. Moslems and other native aliens have their own particular ideas as to tenure, and the grantors themselves have only the vaguest conceptions as to the conditions of the grant. These cases are decided by the courts, but in a very unsatisfactory manner, as the judges do not possess any first-hand knowledge of the land nor of the native customs in accord with which the transactions have taken place.⁹

One of the most clear-cut examples of the native theory of land tenure is that contained in the proclamation of chief Moshesh of the Basutos.¹⁰ In this document he laid down most clearly the fact that land allotted to

⁸ Biyi, Esu, "Temné Land Tenure," in *Journal of the African Society*, vol. XII (1912-3), pp. 409-15.

⁹ Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," pp. 306, 308.

¹⁰ See Appendix, p. 368, for the Basuto trade law in which is expressed the native theory of land tenure.

white people in Basutoland for trading or other purposes was not to be construed as property granted on title or to be sold from one to another.¹¹

It is not surprising to find that side by side with these primitive conceptions of land tenure there is a growing recognition of individual ownership among the negro races. This is to be explained by a number of reasons. First, there has been going on a natural evolution toward private property, especially among settled groups living in and around the more densely populated native cities where the scarcity of land gave it an economic value for residence or for farming purposes. There is evidence that this stage has been reached in various regions of Northern Nigeria, especially in and among the cities of Sokoto, Kano and Zaria.¹² Certainly dissatisfaction must arise with regard to a primitive system, the maintenance of which produces nothing but trouble. For instance, in Southern Nigeria native custom gave every member of the group an equal right and share in the land. Recently many instances have occurred where members were absent for a long time, and, upon seeing valuable crops maturing, returned and claimed possession of their land including the cocoa which others had produced.¹³ Then again, native ideas of land tenure are changing as a result of the introduction of European conceptions of land tenure. Among the Ewe-speaking peoples living near the towns on the seaboard, the decisions of the colonial law courts have fostered the notion of individual property in land upon which houses are built, and there is every indication of the concept being further extended.¹⁴

"The spread of these European ideas may be attributed in the first place to ignorance of the native system. We find the Supreme Courts issuing writs of execution for the seizure of land from a judgment debtor, though by native customary law—of which the court was bound to take cognisance—he had no individual property in it. This was much aggravated by the tendency to charge the Supreme Court with the duty of deciding all land cases to the exclusion of the executive officers.

"Secondly, the English conception of land tenure was carried far and wide throughout the country, by the desire of every European trader or miner to obtain a freehold right to the land occupied by his residence. And thirdly, especially in the large coast towns, by the influence of the Europeanised native lawyers. To these may perhaps be added in some districts the influence of Mohammedans. In the larger cities of the coast the conception of individual

¹¹ Lagden, Sir Godfrey, "The Basutos," I, 303.

¹² The Griquas likewise absorbed the European notion of purchase of land as is shown in some of their transactions with the Bushmen. See Stowe, G. W., "Native Races of South Africa," p. 402.

¹³ Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," p. 312.

¹⁴ Ellis, A. B., "The Ewe-Speaking Peoples," pp. 217-8.

ownership in land, with the right to sell, mortgage, and bequeath it, has thus become more and more prevalent."¹⁵

In the Gold Coast region transfers were made through the chiefs who were regarded by their people as trustees. The English usually treated the chiefs as absolute owners. It was usual for the chiefs to divide the consideration money into three parts, of which the chief, the elders, and the chieftainship fund each took one. The money was supposed to be used for the common welfare, but it was invariably employed for purposes from which the people derived no benefit, and the tribes soon found themselves despoiled of substantial areas of their lands.¹⁶ Rhodes obtained a blanket concession for all the mineral and trading rights in Matabeleland from Chief Lobengula for a consideration of £1200 a year and one thousand rifles.¹⁷ Egypt was one of the most pernicious exploiters of Central Africa, leasing vast tracts of territory to slave hunters of Khartoum. The contracts were quite innocent in appearance, the lessees binding themselves to abstain from slave hunting, but it was tacitly understood that the acquisition of slaves was the purpose of the covenants.¹⁸

The official declaration that natives of German East Africa were to continue to enjoy the land they occupied and were to be allowed at least four times as much as they cultivated satisfied the Teutonic conscience. But in actual practice the blacks were evicted wholesale from their lands on all kinds of pretexts, while their homes were burnt and their effects destroyed. In Tanga the government removed the native population and took possession of the land in the town, then planted palms on it, and when copra oil realized high profits small holdings were let out at high rents. At Dar-es-Salaam and other places the Germans showed themselves to be no more considerate of the aborigines.¹⁹ The Hereros lost goodly portions of their land because of the avidity of their debt-ridden chief, Samuel Maherero, who was always ready to dispose of portions of the tribal lands to the highest bidders, whilst the Germans diligently avoided questioning his right to sell tribal territory.²⁰

The Congo State claimed all vacant lands as state property, and interpreted "vacant" to mean *all* the territory of the state excepting only the sites of the native villages and their gardens. The products of the

¹⁵ Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," pp. 285-6.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 310.

¹⁷ Marcosson, Isaac F., "An African Adventure," p. 107.

¹⁸ Baker, Sir S. W., "Ismailia," I, 150, 153.

¹⁹ British Government Handbook no. 113, "Tanganyika," (German East Africa), pp. 78-9.

²⁰ Lewin, Evans, "The Germans and Africa," pp. 115-6.

"vacant" land belong exclusively to the state, and aliens as well as natives are debarred from trading therein. Says Bourne: "Such a theory is a violation of the natural rights of the aborigines, recognized even by the earlier legislation of the State. It deprives them of the right of gathering any products of the forest and the plains which are the common property of their tribes, and in which their forefathers from all time have enjoyed every freedom, have hunted unhindered, and have gathered the juice of the palm trec, the sap of the rubber vine . . ." ²¹ The state has suddenly stepped in and curtailed the means of subsistence for the natives.

The general attitude of the white colonist seems to be that the negro has no particular right to the soil, that it is more or less a duty of the white man to appropriate the lands of the black and put them to a productive use for the benefit of the civilized world, but more particularly of the appropriator. The German colonials were outspoken in the view that the only way to win the respect of the natives was to treat them with severity, appropriate their lands, and compel them to work for their white masters.²² The members of the London Missionary Society saw no wrong in appropriating lands belonging to the Bushmen without compensation and then giving them to the Koks. But the beneficiaries were sufficiently civilized under the old Dutch régime to know that the proper way to obtain a just title was by purchase, and consequently when the just demand for compensation was made by the Bushmen the new occupants gave them some grain and live stock.²³ Even now, in many tropical and subtropical regions, the accepted view is that the expropriated native is not entitled to compensation. Thus in Southern Rhodesia, in recent years, thousands of natives have been removed over an area of 6,000,000 acres but not a penny of compensation was afforded, not even to cover the actual cost of transporting their goods to new areas.²⁴ In South Africa Madura and his Christian Bushmen were compelled to abandon lands which had been allotted to them because of the imposition of a tax in the form of a quit rent of £300 for an area the size of which white farmers would have paid a sum of £50 or less. The Bushmen were unable to pay the tax and were therefore forced to retreat to the fastnesses of the Drakensberg Mountains.²⁵

The demand on the part of the colonists for an abundant labor supply is frequently an objective of land expropriation. Thus a witness before

²¹ Bourne, H. R. F., "Civilisation in Congoland," p. 133.

²² Lewin, Evans, "The Germans and Africa," p. 115.

²³ Stowe, G. W., "The Native Races of South Africa," pp. 383-4.

²⁴ Marvin, F. S., "Western Races and the World," p. 226.

²⁵ Stowe, G. W., "The Native Races of South Africa," p. 202.

the Native Labour Commission (1912-13) in Kenya Colony expressed the colonial viewpoint: "If the policy was to be continued that every native was to be a landholder of a sufficient area on which to establish himself, then the question of obtaining an adequate labour supply would never be settled." And another said "he did not favour the idea of natives being taught better methods of agriculture in the Reserves, on the grounds that, if they were taught to work in the Reserves, the tendency would be for them not to come out at all. In the event of the size of the Reserves being reduced, then the effect might be different."²⁶

With regard to native proprietorship and occupancy of land there are a number of regulations in the different colonies. Portuguese law to-day provides that in all the provinces beyond the seas, wherever there are public lands vacant, uncultivated, and not used for any special purpose, natives may occupy and cultivate them. This applies to all natives who do not possess immovable property to the value of £10. If, then, the native does not possess immovable property of that value, he may occupy a piece of land measuring $2\frac{1}{4}$ acres for himself and an additional acre for every member of his family. Thus a man with two wives, a mother, three daughters, and three sons under fourteen years of age could take up a little over ten acres. The occupation must be made effective by erecting a dwelling house and putting at least two-thirds of the area under cultivation, otherwise the title becomes void and the settler is liable to eviction by the government. During the first five years the colonist is free from all taxation, but thereafter taxes are levied and are payable in cash or in kind. Failure to pay taxes renders the occupier liable to eviction without any compensation for improvements. If the settler meets all legal liabilities and has resided on the land for twenty years, he automatically acquires a freehold. Such settlers, moreover, are exempt from any form of forced labor.²⁷

More favorable laws regarding native tenure of lands could scarcely be asked for, but the bare truth of the matter is that these regulations exist on paper only.²⁸ No credit whatsoever is given to the native for work done on his own plot. Forced labor takes up so much time that the negroes cannot properly care for their own lands. A certain district south of the Kwanza once produced tons and tons of rice, but this branch of cultivation has all but died out because labor requisitions made it impossible to give the necessary attention to the crops. Some *administrators*

²⁶ Marvin, F. S., "Western Races and the World," p. 224.

²⁷ Harris, John H., "Dawn in Darkest Africa," pp. 163-5.

²⁸ *Supra*, p. 257.

deliberately try to curtail native production by calling out the whole village on highway work in planting time.²⁹

In Uganda the English settled the land question with the king and his chiefs. According to the agreement a little less than half the area of the kingdom was to be divided as the private property of the king, princes and princesses, the chiefs, and a large number (some 2000) of native land owners. The lands thus secured to the natives were those actually occupied, under cultivation or used as grazing ground. The remainder was to be handed over to the British government.³⁰

The government theory of land tenure in Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and Southern Nigeria is embraced in the following principles:

(a) The British government does not claim to be owner of the land—except the old forts on the Gold Coast, the island of Lagos under treaty of 1861 and land specially acquired. (b) The government does not claim to be owner of the minerals. (c) Concessions by natives to Europeans are governed by legislation which provides for consent and sanction of the Concessions Court or of the Executive, after which the premium and rent are payable to the natives. Concessions obtained without the above sanction are null and void. (d) Dealings between natives and natives are free from any statutory restrictions or governmental interference. They can deal with their land as they please, and it is inherited according to native custom. British courts administer native law in questions of sale and succession.³¹

The government in theory recognizes prescriptive rights acquired by occupation, but the villagers are positive that this good intention is not always carried out. The situation was described to Buxton as follows: "Our contention is that, inasmuch as our parents and grandparents had been allowed this privilege all these years, it seems hard that their children and grandchildren should be told in these latter days that, unless they can produce grants showing it had been devised to them, they are to be deprived of these lands. Our parents and grandparents never had grants for these lands but their continued use of them constitutes a claim of ownership."³²

In Northern Nigeria the government has adopted a different theory of land tenure, based upon the premise that native custom does not recognize private ownership of land. The government here claims the ownership of all minerals and the benefit of all rents and premiums, which in the

²⁹ Ross, E. A., "Report on Employment of Native Labor in Portuguese Africa," pp. 18, 24, 43.

³⁰ Johnston, Sir H. H., "The Uganda Protectorate," I, 251.

³¹ Geary, Wm. N. M., "Land Tenure in British West Africa," in *Journal of the African Society*, vol. XII (1912-3), p. 238.

³² Buxton, T. F. M., "The Creole in West Africa," in *Journal of the African Society*, vol. XII (1912-3), pp. 386-7.

other provinces go to the native. Furthermore, the government, though not precisely claiming ownership of the land, denies the natives the right of private property and requires payment of rent. The native can never be owner of the land he occupies. According to the Native Right and Tenure Ordinance of 1910, the governor may give certificates of occupancy to natives or aliens for a seven years' term at a rent revisable every seven years; he cannot give land rent free or on conditions precluding revision of rent at the expiration of each septennate. The occupier has no right of alienation without consent of the governor. The government reserves the right to expropriate the land at any time by paying for unexhausted improvements.³³ There are no restrictions on the sale, transfer or bequest of one's holding to a blood relation. If transfer is made to a non-related native of the same district the consent of the district headman is necessary; if to a non-related native of another district the additional approval of the Resident is required. The law intended to substitute the government for the tribal chief or headman as trustee for the natives' land. It was an attempt to perpetuate the tribal system by white man's law.

As a matter of fact the law remained a dead letter. It was found impossible to issue certificates to millions of native occupiers and the Colonial Office explained that the negroes might continue to be dealt with by their rulers, acting in theory as delegates to the governor. The aborigines were unaware of the fact that their titles had been declared invalid. Subsequent alteration of the law and practice has maintained the right of native occupants to their land, and the right of native rulers to assign it to the people in their jurisdiction. No land rent is demanded as being contrary to native custom.³⁴

The effect of white rule and appropriation of African lands has been to create a huge, landless African proletariat under no restraint of tribal law, and with few political and fewer legal rights under the white man's law. Naturally this is raising all kinds of currents and cross-currents of class and race feeling, which, in a country where the black population is rapidly increasing, must result in disastrous consequences.³⁵

The problem facing the colonizing powers to-day is whether to encourage production by the negro himself as an independent entrepreneur, or primarily by means of the white-owned plantation system whereby the negro is scarcely more than a serf. Both policies have been followed. On

³³ Geary, Wm. N. M., "Land Tenure in British West Africa," in *Journal of the African Society*, vol. XII (1912-3), pp. 241-3.

³⁴ Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," pp. 292-4,

²⁹⁷ Morel, E. D., "The Black Man's Burden," pp. 208-9.

the Gold Coast and in Ashanti the government has favored production by small native landholders. Cocoa cultivation has become a native industry. There is hardly an acre of cocoa-garden owned by Europeans in the territory. The colonial in other regions, who is firmly convinced that the plantation system represents the best adaptation, tries to explain away the success of the West African policy by maintaining that there is a difference in the "fibre" of the African, and this method would surely fail elsewhere. But the late German colony of Kamerun was inhabited largely by tribes of identical race. The Germans pursued the opposite policy, namely, that of white exploitation. The system was started in the early 90's with a great flourish; there were highly organized plantations, all modern conveniences, electric light, telephone, etc., and the natives were taught the "dignity of labor" by force. The results did not meet expectations. The natives revolted and were cowd by slaughter. The economic results were disappointing.³⁰

Lugard sums up the advantages of peasant holdings as follows:

"The laborer who works on land which is not his own, whether as the serf, or even as the paid servant of an estate owner, or as a unit in a commercial estate, has little interest in its improvement during, and none beyond, his own lifetime. And so we find in Africa, the oldest of the continents, no permanent irrigation works," such as those which terrace every hillside in Afghanistan, India and China. The African plants few trees, and is careless of the productivity of the soil. Individual proprietorship is no doubt inimical to the supply of wage labor for large estates, but it makes for individual progress, thrift, and character. It is the strongest inducement to good farming, and politically an asset to the Government, to which the peasant owes the security of his holding. The French verdict is the same."³¹

It should also be borne in mind that the purchasing capacity of an African community growing or gathering and preparing crops for export is necessarily far greater than that of an agglomeration of African wage-earners. Further, whereas the white employer of African labor spends his profits outside of the dependency, the native agriculturalist spends his in a way which cannot help but benefit the revenues of the colony. The desire to acquire the products of the outer world is the stimulus which encourages the native to grow crops for export. He is not forced to do so from economic necessity.³²

³⁰ Marvin, F. S., "Western Races and the World," pp. 273-4.

³¹ In West Africa irrigation is practised to a small extent, and is occasionally found in East Africa.

³² Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," pp. 294-5.

³³ Morel, E. D., "The Black Man's Burden," p. 179.

Let us now summarize the land situation in Africa. The natives, living on a lower economic stage than the invaders, required an extensive utilization of the land for subsistence, but, since there existed no scarcity of land and very little labor was expended thereon, no definite notion of private property rights in land had evolved. Rather, there was an inchoate tribal ownership, every member of the tribe having an undivided share therein, with the chief acting as trustee for his people. But this concept of property was far removed from the mores of the colonists; it was incomprehensible. Hence, acting in accord with their own mores, vacant lands were surreptitiously appropriated or trifling presents were made to the chiefs in payment. This the white man regarded as an out-and-out sale, the purchase of a freehold, whilst the chief thought he was granting a temporary usufruct according to native custom, for the sale of land was an unheard-of thing.

The attitude of the colonizing peoples has been that it is a duty to appropriate land not actually cultivated by the natives and to put it to productive use. Some go further and demand the expropriation of native lands on the ground that the negro will not work otherwise, and that greater production will result. Experience, however, has shown that the native in contact with western culture is most industrious and makes the most rapid strides toward civilization when permitted to become a producer on his own lands.

CHAPTER XXVIII

DISINTEGRATION OF THE NATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEM WITH THE APPLICATION OF EUROPEAN CONTROL

Contact with Europeans and the ensuing process of acculturation has laid open to attack in numberless places the native political organizations of the African peoples. Although acting in a passive manner imitation is one of the foremost factors in this struggle. "Imitation is unconscious, has no theory or aims to pursue or to alter, and so goes its course with the steady, consistent, and relentless urge of a natural force."¹ The customs and habits thus imitated and evoked, and belonging to a different culture stage tend to rot out and cancel the old native means of control.

"The worst elements of our civilization are being absorbed by the youth of the Kafir tribes," says Kidd. "The young men on returning to their kraals from the goldfields, or Mission Stations, or towns, refuse to submit to the old clan restraints, and decline to obey the orders of their betters, for they have lost their sense of reverence, a thing almost unheard of in olden times. The young men become lax and lawless, and are a serious peril to all order and decency in the kraal. This spurious liberty and impudent swagger are very contagious, and even the children become infected. In the olden days, for example, only men of mature age were allowed to drink beer and to smoke Indian hemp. Quite small boys do both these things nowadays, and the old people are powerless to prevent them."²

The white man's influence has occasioned the loss of the king's power among the tribes of the Elgon District. The old etiquette has disappeared and the common people regard the chiefs with anything but the awe and reverence of former days.³ The British took away the power of the chiefs among the Tshi-speaking people of the Gold Coast, but left intact part of the political organization in the old town military companies. These companies, no longer held in check by the old bounds, ceased to fulfil their original purpose and in peace time became constant sources of disorder because of their quarrels.⁴

¹ Keller, A. G., "Societal Evolution," pp. 217-8.

² Kidd, Dudley, "Kafir Socialism," p. 49. Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," p. 217.

³ Dundas, K. R., "The Wawanga and Other Tribes of the Elgon District," in J. A. I., vol. XLIII (1913), p. 57.

⁴ Ellis, A. B., "The Tshi-Speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast," pp. 278-9.

Destruction of the native political organization of the Ashanti as a consequence of British interference resulted in perpetual warfare of the formerly tributary tribes of the interior, who were no longer under restraint, and in the decay of local arts and industries.⁵ In the Zambezia region the Portuguese, fearing the power of the chiefs and headmen, deliberately undertook the task of undermining their power and dissolving the old tribal organization.⁶

Lugard gives a vivid picture of the situation:—

"The advent of Europeans cannot fail to have a disintegrating effect on tribal authority and institutions, and on the conditions of native life. This is due in part to the unavoidable restrictions imposed on the exercise of their power by the native chiefs. They may no longer inflict barbarous and inhuman punishments on the individual, or take reprisals by force of arms on aggressive neighbours or a disobedient section of the community. The concentration of force in the hands of the Suzerain Power, and the amenability of the chiefs to that Power for acts of oppression and misrule, are evidence to primitive folk that the power of the chiefs has gone. This decay of tribal authority has unfortunately too often been accentuated by the tendency of British officers to deal direct with petty chiefs, and to ignore, and allow their subordinates to ignore, the principal chief. It has been increased in many cases by the influx of alien natives, who, when it suited them, set at naught the native authority, and refused to pay the tributes which the chiefs were given no means of enforcing, or acquired lands which they held in defiance of native customary tenure."⁷

Closely allied with native political organizations are the various tribal secret societies, which used to exert a more or less coercive pressure upon the members of the tribe to venerate and obey the established customs of the group. These, too, feel the effect of contact and are dying out as education, the divulgence of their secrets and disbelief on the part of the masses renders null their power of preserving the old folkways and mores.⁸

The greater the difference in culture between two groups thrown into contact, the more disastrous are apt to be the consequences for the "lower" cultural group.⁹ This is because transmission takes place from the "higher" to the "lower" society and, instead of a gradual fusion of the mores occurring with the selection of the best which each has to offer, we have a sudden revolutionary upheaval of the social and political institutions of

⁵ Freeman, R. A. F., "Travels and Life in Ashanti and Jaman," pp. 471-4.

⁶ Maugham, R. C. F., "Zambezia," p. 313.

⁷ Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," pp. 215-6.

⁸ Webster, Hutton, "Primitive Secret Societies," p. 124.

⁹ Torday, E., "Culture and Environment," in J. A. I., vol. LI (1921), p. 370.

the backward race. The old mores of the native races no longer meet the exigencies placed before them; the superiority of the ways of the conquerors are all too evident. As a result the blacks begin to look upon their old customs with contempt, and imitate a code of mores which they do not fully understand and which, as generally happens, represents a maladaptation for them.

The social and economic effects of European control and the application of European law to the aborigines of Africa presents one of the most interesting phases of the contact between the whites and blacks. In the olden days European influence was generally confined to the limited area of the factory or trading station. In course of time, as economic motives of exploitation became dominant, the European countries began to extend their spheres of influence over larger and larger areas and inevitably came in conflict with the aborigines.¹⁰ During this early period of contact most acquisitions were by means of conquest or discovery; in the later days mostly by means of treaties made with the aborigines. The view was accepted by all the powers that "treaties" made with the natives by which they ceded all their sovereign rights were to be accepted as valid titles to the acquisition of the African tropics by the European nations. Likewise conquest, provided the natives were the aggressors (never difficult to prove), was admitted to give a valid title. Sanction and approval of these views followed soon after a precedent in land grabbing had been set by King Leopold of Belgium, and thereafter the ethics of the practice was never called into question.

The civilized nations entered the competition with avidity. Treaties were produced by the cartload in all the approved forms of legal verbiage—impossible of translation by poorly educated interpreters. It mattered not that tribal chiefs had no power to dispose of communal rights, or that those few powerful potentates who might claim such authority looked on the white man's ambassador with contempt, and could hardly have been expected to hand over their sovereignty and lands or other assets had they understood what was asked of them. The Sultan of Sokoto, for instance, regarded the subsidy promised to him by the chartered company as tribute from a vassal.¹¹

Commandant Toutée, one of the foremost of the French treaty-makers, describes the system in the following words:

¹⁰ See Appendix, pp. 368-9, for relations of civilized state to aborigines as given by the Institute of International Law.

¹¹ Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," p. 15.

"Quand un état ou une tribu nègre, peu importe a commis l'imprudence grande de donner l'hospitalité à un voyageur blanc, ce dernier n'a rien de plus pressé que de sortir de sa poche un traité d'alliance tout imprimé, et de ses cantines un petit drapeau national. Le voyageur signe ce traité pour son propre compte et prie le roitelet, plus ou moins coloré, d'ajouter sa signature à la sienne.

"Si le potentat nègre ne sait pas signer, comme ce dernier cas se présente neuf fois sur dix, la haute partie contractante et civilisé signe pour la deuxième supposée sauvage et le tour est joué.

"Il est arrivé même quelquefois que le voyageur blanc, s'il est anglais surtout, a oublié de demander son nom au nègre signataire, mais ce vice de forme n'a jamais été considéré comme une cause sérieuse de nullité du contrat."¹²

Of all Europeans in Africa the Germans carried treaty-making to the greatest extreme. Dr. Karl Peters, Dr. Juhlke and Count Pfeil worked their way into the Usagara highlands and obtained from the local chiefs any number of treaties ceding extensive rights to the German Colonization Society.¹³ On the strength of these treaties the German government was induced to grant a charter to the Society giving it sovereign rights over the country lying between the dominions of Zanzibar and Lake Tanganyika. Numerous other expeditions followed and treaties were obtained as far south as Mozambique and inland to the shores of Lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa; to the north treaties from the Sultan of Witu and neighboring chiefs gave the Germans claims to the coast between the Tana and Juba Rivers, infringing upon the territory of the Sultan of Zanzibar who protested in vain.¹⁴ Excerpts from Dr. Peters' treaty with the Galla afford some idea of the nature of many of the German documents,¹⁵ thus :

"The following Treaty is this day concluded between Dr. Karl Peters and the Galla Sultan Hugo. . . . Sultan Hugo places himself, with all his territory, under the protection of Dr. Peters. Dr. Karl Peters will endeavor to obtain for the Galla Sultanate the friendship of His Majesty the German Emperor. Nevertheless, this Treaty is not dependent upon the granting of the protection of the German Empire or upon its ratification by any European Power. Sultan Hugo cedes to Dr. Karl Peters the right of working the country above

¹² Quoted in Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," p. 16.

¹³ See Appendix, pp. 369-70, for charter of protection granted to the German Colonization Society.

¹⁴ British Government Handbook no. 113, "Tanganyika," (German East Africa), p. 28.

¹⁵ See Appendix, pp. 370-I, for treaty with the chieftain of Msovero.

and below the ground in every direction . . . Dr. Karl Peters is to be the supreme lord in the country of the Gallas to command the armed forces, and to judge the people. This is done for the blessing and welfare of the Galla land."¹⁶

The acquisition of African territory necessitated the extension of European administration over millions of natives belonging to groups of various degrees of culture. This brings up the question which has proved most troublesome to the colonizing powers—whether to adopt direct rule over the Africans and force upon the aborigines a code of which they are entirely ignorant, or to sanction and uphold the native code with which they are familiar, except in so far as certain features of the native code may be repugnant to civilized life. The latter policy has most frequently been adopted; in the early days because it was the most expedient method owing to the scanty white population, and later because of the well-founded theory, coupled with experience, that it is best for the native to be governed by his own law which represents an adaptation to his own peculiar conditions of life. In this regard Leroy-Beaulieu expresses the opinion:

"Autant que possible, il convient de laisser les indigènes sous leurs administrateurs et leurs juges naturels, c'est-à-dire ceux de leur race, mais en contrôlant efficacement ces derniers, de sorte qu'il ne se crée pas, par l'indifférence des autorités coloniales, des tyrannies; ces autorités doivent veiller à ce que les indigènes investis des fonctions de judicature ou d'administration soient parmi les plus intègres et les plus capables et que, recevant une indemnité honorable, ils s'acquittent de leur tâche avec équité, sans malversation, ni oppression."¹⁷

Of the colonizing powers in Africa the Portuguese were the first to make use of this principle of indirect rule over the aborigines. According to the account given by Andrew Battel Portuguese adventurers were appointed *tandalas*. As such their function was to serve as councilors or ministers of the chiefs and kings, especially in their relations with the Portuguese government. Local government was left largely in the hands of the native chiefs, who were more or less under the guidance of their respective *tandalas*. The primary object of the Portuguese was rather to secure than to superintend local government, for, says Battell, "This soldier (the Tandala) seeth that he (the native chief) have no wrong; and the Lord acknowledgeth him to be his master, and he doth maintain the soldier and maketh him rich. Also in the wars he commandeth his mas-

¹⁶ Quoted in Lewin, Evans, "The Germans and Africa," pp. 196-7.

¹⁷ Leroy-Beaulieu, Paul, "De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes," II, 625.

ter's house to be built before his own, and whatsoever he hath taken that day in the wars, he passeth (divideth) with his master. So that there is no Portugal soldier of any account but hath his negro *sova* or Lord."¹⁸

In East Africa the Arabs first employed a strong military force, but found this was costly and dangerous in the hands of the ambitious. So they hit upon the expedient of making use of the nobles and chiefs; they guaranteed to the native chief the rule over his subjects, the chief in turn giving up his sovereignty. They were thus able to do without a great military force for the native rulers were dependent upon them for their revenue. The Arabs took first their own tribute, and then a second for the native rulers. Opposition was thus impossible and complaints were never heard.¹⁹

The British, after bitter experience in the Gun War, granted to the leaders of the Basutos extensive powers with respect to local government. Fifty years earlier Moshesh, the most brilliant of Basuto chieftains, had said to Sir George Grey, "If you will only rule my people through me there will be no trouble. They will follow me and I will follow you." In course of time the English realized the soundness of the old chieftain's advice, and regulations were put in effect whereby the settlement of all tribal cases involving native law, excepting serious crime, was relegated to the chiefs. The chiefs were given duties, were subsidized and held up to the public respect. They fully justified the confidence imposed in them. When criminals were wanted or taxes were to be collected they acted as a medium of communication with the people. In this way there was created a chain of responsibility from the government through the paramount chief downwards to the smallest headman of a village. The natives liked the system and gave it their loyal support; it admitted of no oppression.²⁰

British rule through native chiefs has become the accepted form in Nigeria. The native authority is *de facto* and *de jure* ruler over his own people. He appoints and dismisses his subordinate chiefs and officials; he exercises the power of allocation of lands and, with the aid of the native courts, of adjudication in land disputes; he also levies fines for offenses against the community. The lawful orders which the native authority may give are carefully defined by ordinance. He employs a body of unarmed police to maintain order, and if a display of superior force is necessary he looks to the government. The native authority derives his power from

¹⁸ Ravenstein, E. G., (ed.), "Andrew Battel in Guinea," (Hakluyt), pp. 64-5.

¹⁹ Munzinger, W., "Ostafrikanische Studien," p. 293.

²⁰ Lagden, Sir Godfrey, "The Basutos," II, 627-30, 647. Robertson, J. M., "The Tutelage of Races," in Sociological Review, vol. I (1908), p. 174.

the government and is equally with British officers amenable to the law, but his authority does not rest upon the caprice of an executive officer. The native chiefs are thus constituted "as an integral part of the machinery of administration. There are not two sets of rulers—British and native—working either separately or in coöperation, but a single Government in which the native chiefs have well-defined duties and an acknowledged status equally with British officials. . . . The ruling classes are no longer either demi-gods, or parasites preying upon the community. They must work for the stipends and position they enjoy."²¹

In the Transkei²² the tribes are still ruled by their own chiefs under the Union government. The chiefs are subsidized by the government, the paramount chiefs receiving from £400 to £700 a year. To some extent the chief's authority has been diminished owing to the fact that they are no longer responsible for the behavior of the individual tribesmen as in the case of murder. Nevertheless the chiefs govern effectively and in accord with native habits. It speaks well for the natives living under their own customs and regulations that crime is rare and that there is needed only about one policeman to some 40,000 persons.²³

When delegation of power to native chiefs occurs there are certain definite limitations which must be made for the benefit and welfare of the natives as well as of the sovereign power. The most important of these as given by Lugard are as follows:

(a) Native rulers are not permitted to raise and control armed forces, or to grant permission to carry arms. To this in principle the signatories under the Brussels Act are pledged. The evils which result from an armed population were quite evident in Uganda before it fell under British control. (b) The sole right to impose taxation in any form is reserved to the suzerain power. This fulfills the bilateral understanding that the peasantry, provided they pay the authorized tax, should be free of all other exactions, while a sufficient proportion of the tax is assigned to the native treasuries to meet the expenditures of the native administration. (c) The right to legislate is reserved. The native authority, however, has considerable power in this regard, in that the chief and the native courts are empowered to enforce native law and custom provided it is not repugnant to humanity or in opposition to any ordinance. The native authority may make rules on any subject provided they are approved by the governor. (d) The right to appropriate land on equitable terms for public purposes and for commercial requirements is vested

²¹ Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," pp. 203-4.

²² The Transkei, or the Native Territories of Kaffraria, is the wedge between Cape Colony, Natal, and Basutoland.

²³ Mason, Miss M. H., "The Transkei," in *Royal Geographic Journal* (July, 1918), p. 33.

in the governor. In practice this does not interfere with the native ruler assigning lands to the natives in accordance with native law and custom. (e) In order to maintain intact the control of the central government over all aliens and to avoid friction and difficulties, employees of the native administration should consist entirely of natives subject to the native authority. (f) And finally, in the interests of good government the right of confirming or rejecting the choice of the people for the successor to a chiefship, and of deposing any ruler for misrule or other adequate cause is reserved to the governor.²⁴

In some parts of Africa, notably in Belgian Congo, the custom of governing through native chiefs, when the European authorities are not well acquainted with the tribes they are treating with, has led to many abuses. Thus a practice arose in the Congo whereby the chief appointed one of his elders to act as his representative in dealing with the government. When the Belgian officers appeared to officially "recognize" the local chiefs, the substitute would represent himself as the chief and receive the official medallion. Consequently the government officially recognized as chief a man to whom the people owed no allegiance, while the real chief was left free to do as he pleased without direct responsibility to the government. In event of trouble with colonial authorities the pretended chief had to bear the brunt of it, and if gifts were presented to him in his official capacity he was compelled to deliver them over to the real chief.²⁵

Although the system of indirect government has proven quite successful in Nigeria, certain abuses have crept in owing to inconsistencies in the law. The criminal code makes it a felony for any one to threaten injury to another, his person, his property, or to induce him to believe he will become an object of displeasure to the government or to a government official, if he does so in order to compel that person to do any act which he is lawfully entitled to abstain from doing. But the employment of the chief to get labor for the government weakens his authority for it exposes him to the contingency of a refusal on the part of some individual, and unless coercion by illegal means is used the chief's authority may be defied. In practice the headman is directed to produce a specified number of men; those able to pay bribes are let off, others refuse or disappear. Lugard cites one example in which a village chief, being a butcher, ordered all the butchers to go when he had a requisition for labor, thus reserving for himself a complete monopoly in his trade. If the chief is unable to pro-

²⁴ Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," pp. 205-7.

²⁵ Hilton-Simpson, M. W., "Land and Peoples of the Kasai," pp. 116-7.

cure labor (which cannot be done without some measure of unlawful force) he is accounted to have insufficient influence and authority, and is liable to be deposed.²⁶

In the Transkei the British have introduced a new expedient for giving the aborigines a voice in local affairs. This has been accomplished by means of Native District Councils, the members of which are elected by the blacks. The councils administer local affairs and other matters affecting the inhabitants. In addition the natives have an opportunity to express their views in matters of a wider scope through the Transkeian Territories' General Council, called the "Bunga." The *Bunga* meets annually for some two or three weeks at Umtata, the capital. This council is composed of the chief magistrate of the Territories and the various district magistrates; it is purely an advisory body and the members do not vote, all power being vested in the government. The subjects dealt with by the *Bunga* are restricted within the boundaries of local government, and largely concern such matters as care of cattle, roads and methods of farming, as well as topics of political interest. Resolutions of the *Bunga* carry great weight as far as the government is concerned, for they are so largely inspired by need and common sense.²⁷ This is entirely in line with the recommendation of the International Conference at Paris in 1900 which advocated "admitting the chief men of the aborigines as members adjunct of the councils connected with the local governments, or preferably in the creation of aboriginal assemblies invested with purely consultative powers."²⁸

The delegation to native chiefs of the power to govern their people in accord with tribal custom scarcely touched upon the problem of adjudicating disputes and interpreting the law. Native law, especially with respect to criminal matters, often runs counter to European law and results in frequent conflicts.

At this point it would be well to observe some of the differences in native and European jurisprudence. The negro is in an evolutionary stage entirely different from our own. His peculiarities can be changed to approximate our mode neither by forcing our religion upon him nor by passing laws.²⁹ With the Kafirs, and this is generally true with respect to most of the aborigines of Africa, it is custom and precedent rather than abstract fairness which dominate in their system of jurisprudence. This

²⁶ Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," p. 412.

²⁷ Mason, Miss M. H., "The Transkei," in *Royal Geographic Journal* (July, 1918),

p. 33.

²⁸ Snow, Alpheus H., "The Question of the Aborigines," p. 180.

²⁹ Lignitz, V., "Die Deutschen Kolonien ein Teil des Deutschen Vaterlands," p. 76.

may be attributed largely to their veneration of the old and to ancestor worship; also to the fact that whatever is forbidden by authority comes in process of time to be felt intrinsically wrong. Kidd describes the situation as follows:

"When some European magistrate rules according to Western ideas, giving the people *British* justice, and consequently upsetting all Kafir precedents, there must of necessity be a feeling of discontent in the hearts of the natives. They are bewildered at the pace we insist on, and leave the white magistrate's court with glum faces, for they are incapable of seeing rhyme or reason in the white man's view of the case.

"The Kafir, before he is educated, has a passionate faith in the essential rightness of the decision of his chief. It never occurs to him to question the word of his chief, for the verdict instantly inhibits all other action of his judgment. The man does not want abstract justice, but the personal opinion of his chief; and the last thing a Kafir would like to do would be to call in a white man to examine, and possibly to reverse, the decision of his chief, even when such decision had been given against him. The Kafir distrusts our entire machinery of administering justice, and he cannot for the life of him conceive that the white man is in any way justified in forcing natives to bring their cases to white magistrates. He cannot admit that it is just that a white man should come in uninvited and set up his newfangled authority. He admits that the white man is the very person to decide what constitutes justice for the European, but will never admit that he is capable of deciding what is right for black men."³⁰

In contrast to the law of modern civilized states, which is cognizant only of individual responsibility for crime, native African law invariably recognizes a collective, corporate responsibility for the transgressions of any member of the group. Occasionally the dominant power is able to make good use of this native concept. Thus in British Tropical Africa, when it is apparent that a community has participated in some outrage, murder, riot, or arson, refuses to give evidence, or knowingly harbors criminals, the governor has been given the power to apply the native concept by imposing a fine upon the entire community.³¹ Of the same nature is the Spoor Law which, consistent with Kafir ideas of corporate responsibility, was accepted by the natives and actually regarded by them as one of their own laws. This law came into effect early in the nineteenth century at a time when the natives were incessantly stealing the cattle belonging to the white settlers. Lord Charles Somerset suggested to the native chiefs that when the spoor of stolen cattle could be traced to within a few hundred yards of the kraal, the white men should give over

³⁰ Kidd, Dudley, "Kafir Socialism," pp. 68-9, 72-4.

³¹ Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," pp. 546-7.

the pursuit, and hold the people of the kraal liable for the cattle unless they could point out the spoor leading away to another kraal, and any kraal obliterating the spoor to hide the thief became, *ipso facto*, responsible for the theft. The law appealed to their notion of collective responsibility. The justice of the law was never questioned until recent years, and then only by a few "educated" Kafirs who had renounced connection with their clans and had lost, through European training, the sense of solidarity with their fellows.³²

On the other hand, where laws in imitation of those of the whites are introduced into the native code, there seems to be little chance for success unless they are consistent with the general notions of the aborigines. An illustration of this fact occurred when Shepstone, the English Resident, persuaded the Zulu chieftain, Chaka, to introduce a law that no one should be killed without a public trial at which evidence of innocence or guilt would be received and judgment rendered accordingly. This innovation was never successful for it conflicted with one of the strongest customs of the kingdom.³³ Similarly Kafir mores differ from ours with regard to what constitutes sufficient evidence to condemn a person. Although we may be morally certain that a man is guilty, our courts require formal proof of that fact; not so, however, in Kafir jurisprudence. A man is guilty until he proves he is innocent. This practice, in truth, is a natural adaptation to the peculiar conditions of native life. Furthermore, it is very difficult to procure evidence to incriminate a man; the people are too clannish to give evidence voluntarily against one another unless it be for the common good of the tribe. No judicial oath is required of witnesses, but they may volunteer an oath if they wish; in such cases the evidence gains in value; but no one can be subpoenaed to give evidence and there is no offense of perjury. Under such conditions it is but natural that a man should be considered guilty until he proves his innocence. The Kafir plaintiff thus thinks, when he is required to prove his accusation in the white man's court, that the court is siding with the defendant.³⁴

Another striking difference between native and European law is that the former generally regards an injury committed by a member of the tribe against a fellow-member as an offense against the individual and not against the community.³⁵ Punishment therefore takes the form of private vengeance and reprisal. This is true for both civil and criminal cases.

³² Kidd, Dudley, "Kafir Socialism," pp. 75-7.

³³ Ratzel, Friedrich, "Völkerkunde," p. 125.

³⁴ Kidd, Dudley, "Kafir Socialism," p. 81-2, 89.

³⁵ Observe the difference when injury is done to a member of another group and collective responsibility is the rule. *Supra*, p. 301.

A further difference is that African native law sanctions the amending of all wrongs, civil or criminal, by payment of compensation. But the acceptance of such a payment is entirely optional with the aggrieved party: he had the right to take vengeance upon the wrong-doer in the form of blood-revenge or reprisal, as the case may be, or to convert the criminal action into a civil suit by accepting compensation. Inasmuch as compensation was only an alternative which the offender could not rely on, the most effectual deterrent was fear of private revenge which was a lawful, and often prescribed duty. And since corporate responsibility was recognized and vengeance might fall upon relatives, they were always interested in dissuading the would-be offender from committing the crime.³⁶

Another theory of European law which is difficult for the African to grasp is that of the police power. For example, the Matabeles never could understand what right the British government had to slaughter their cattle when an outbreak of the rinderpest threatened South Africa. The government endeavored to establish a clear belt by shooting all the cattle in a certain area, and the Matabele herds unfortunately were in this area. The negroes could not comprehend the wisdom of this procedure, and only saw it as an outrage committed by the white men on their property. This was one of the principal causes of the Matabele revolt shortly after.³⁷

The conception that the suppression of crime for the public benefit is the function of the state, and that it can be effected by punishments which are deterrent, though humane, and by the reform of the wrong-doer, while the aggrieved has his remedy in a civil suit for damages is entirely foreign to the native mind.³⁸ It is something which cannot be incorporated into the mores of the blacks by ordinance and law.

Since the natives have been compelled to substitute European principles in criminal procedure crime has increased rapidly. Many of the chiefs are convinced that it is because the old punishments, once so greatly feared, have been replaced by European forms of punishment, which to the negro

³⁶ Dundas, Chas., "Native Laws of Some Bantu Tribes," in J. A. I., vol. LI (1921), p. 225.

Note: The peculiarities of native justice are well illustrated in the following account: "At Renk we visited the home of the Dinka Chief who sits court with the British Resident to adjust the conflicting claims of tribal members. An example of Dinka ideals of justice is shown in the following court record:

"A Dinka stole ten bulls from another. Native judges seriously considered the case. The robber acknowledged the theft. The cattle were ordered to be returned. Not only, however, was the robber not punished, but the court decided that, since he had had much trouble in stealing the cattle, one bull should be allotted to him for compensation!" Heard, D. B., "Cotton and the Sudan," in *American Review of Reviews*, vol. LXXIV (July, 1926), p. 63.

³⁷ Marcossou, Isaac, "An African Adventure," p. 113.

³⁸ Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," p. 558.

oftentimes are not punishments at all. Thus imprisonment, the principal form of punishment found in civilized communities, is anything but a hardship upon the native. He has no fine susceptibilities, and when he has to do no work, is housed and cared for by Europeans, he has reached the height of enjoyment. At the Blantyre Mission it was found that forceful punishment in the form of a severe flogging was the most effective deterrent against theft. Their own law sanctioned punishment by death for theft.³⁹ Cruel force was the only deterrent for crime that the Zulus recognized.⁴⁰ Venerable Zulu headmen say that they prefer the old system because in these days bribery is practised, evil doers occasionally get off scot-free since they no longer have to prove their innocence, and children and young fellows get beyond control because the magistrate's courts frequently uphold them in quarrels with their parents.⁴¹

In many cases dissatisfaction with European law arises from the fact that the native has a totally different conception of the seriousness of the crime committed than does the European. Both inflict heavy punishments for offenses regarded as anti-social, but there is no unanimity as to what acts are to be so designated. For instance, no crime is thought by the Kafir to sap the very foundation of social life more than witchcraft. Accordingly, he metes out the most severe penalty he can devise for such base proceedings. In case a man has his cattle stolen no thought of punishing the thief occurs. All that the native wants is the return of his cattle, or failing that, redress. This is all that the Kafir law gives him. The act of theft is not punishable.⁴²

Magic, one of the trustworthy aids in native jurisprudence, is still practised to some extent in spite of European opposition. Among the A-Kamba, after the creditor has repeatedly asked for payment and the debtor fails to pay, it is customary for the former to complain to the elders. Thereupon they go to the debtor and threaten him with the *Kithito* ordeal, because they say the power of the *Kithito* is not afraid of the government.⁴³ The Kafirs continue to pin their faith to trial by ordeal. To them it seems an absolutely just and infallible method, much more so than a trial by a white magistrate whose decision rests entirely upon tangible evidence submitted. Moreover, they are quick to see

³⁹ MacDonald, Duff, "Africana," II, 42-3, 257-8.

⁴⁰ Ratzel, Friedrich, "Völkerkunde," II, 125.

⁴¹ Kidd, Dudley, "Kafir Socialism," p. 50.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 84-5.

⁴³ Hopley, C. W., "The A-Kamba and Other East African Tribes," p. 81.

through the impostures of their fellow-tribesmen and conclude that "The white man does not go by the truth," and that "Lies go down better and pay better than truth."⁴⁴

The great divergence in the laws of the whites and blacks, created by present and past life conditions of the two ethnic groups, has quite generally led to the acceptance of the view that the colored races should be governed by their own laws in so far as they do not conflict with the broad moral and ethical principles of modern civilization. Experience has shown that the natives cannot be made to understand, much less to trust our laws and methods. In the Portuguese colonies the courts take cognizance of local custom and long established usage, which to some degree modifies the strict application of Portuguese law when blacks are concerned.⁴⁵ But the people do not seem to comprehend the function of the court. In Angola litigation became a fad or fashion, and a native would rejoice if only he could say of an enemy, "I took him before the court," even though the lawsuit cost far more than he got out of it.⁴⁶

Even where native law is recognized by colonial courts the problem of perjury comes to the front. The English, French and others have found that the Christian oath has very little moral significance so far as the negro, and particularly the non-Christian, is concerned. In order to minimize deliberate falsehood, the courts in British West Africa have frequently adopted the expedient of permitting the native to make use of the special form of affirmation used by his tribe. Hence it is no unusual occurrence to see a boy in Lagos swearing by pepper and salt, or a Yoruba man swearing by his sword and placing it to his forehead, neck and breast as a sign that should he fail to speak the truth the weapon would slay him. It must be added, however, that this method of swearing or affirmation loses its effectiveness in proportion as European contact and influence destroy the moral value of these symbolic oaths.⁴⁷

In many parts of Africa, especially in those regions under British and French control, the theory has gained ground that it is a wise policy not only to recognize native law, but to place the administration of justice under it in the hands of the natives themselves, subject, of course, to certain limitations of jurisdiction. Thus the native courts of Nigeria are chiefly engaged in settling questions of a domestic nature such as matrimonial

⁴⁴ Kidd, Dudley, "Kafir Socialism," p. 87.

⁴⁵ Maugham, R. C. F., "Zambezia," pp. 312-3.

⁴⁶ Livingstone, D., "Travels and Researches in Africa," p. 449.

⁴⁷ Asmis, W., "Law and Policy," in *Journal of the African Society*, vol. XII (1912-3), p. 143.

disputes, petty debts, trespass, assault and inheritance where both parties are subject to its jurisdiction. Alien blacks permanently residing in the jurisdiction are amenable to the local native court. Powers are conferred upon the courts in proportion to the ability and capacity of the members. As a rule, members of the local courts are too ignorant and often too dominated by fetish worship to make a wise use of extended powers, especially with respect to criminal cases. The native courts are usually better able to get at the truth than a British court because of their more intimate knowledge of native modes of thought. Likewise a superior native court, such as the judicial council of a ruler, is more competent to deal with land disputes where ancient rights are concerned. The general conclusion as to the native courts in both Northern and Southern Nigeria is that they command confidence, that their judgments are generally fair and just, and that they are serving a very useful purpose.⁴⁸

Uganda is divided into districts each of which has a *lukiko* or native court which assembles weekly and deals with minor cases. The local courts are inspected by the district officers and report to the central native court at the capital. The Central Lukiko is composed of some forty district chiefs. The system is said to be "an excellent example of the best results of indirect rule."⁴⁹ The native courts in French Tropical Africa have likewise proved to be very successful, although organized on different lines from those in British dependencies.⁵⁰

Among certain of the Bantu tribes the setting up of native courts has been marked by considerable difficulty and little success. The reason seems to be that the council of elders organized into a judicial body is a Europeanized adaptation of an original institution. The ancient council of elders was an arbitration board. The defendant, in summoning the council, declares his willingness to submit the matter to discussion. When this is done the defendant invariably admits some liability. Both litigants select their own elders and these representatives meet in council or *kiama* for discussion and to render a decision. The defendant, however, is not obligated to accept the opinion of the *kiama*, in which event the parties fight it out; thus incessant feuds are common. Considering the Bantu's view of the duties and functions of the court, it is not surprising that such a body, even though composed of native headmen and interpreting native

⁴⁸ Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," pp. 550, 561, 565. Note: The Lieut.-Governor of the Northern Provinces reported in 1919 that there were 407 native courts which dealt with 148,255 cases.

⁴⁹ Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," pp. 199-211, note.

⁵⁰ See Appendix, pp. 371-2, for description of French native courts.

law, should meet with some resistance. The idea of a *hiama* rendering a decision and then enforcing it was entirely new.⁶¹

Taxation and the methods of levy introduce a further point of difference between native and European authority. Taxation was not an innovation introduced by European rule in Africa. Wherever the natives had reached some degree of tribal cohesion the obligation to pay tribute to the head chiefs was recognized. It is only among the most primitive groups, where the authority of the paramount chief has not yet emerged, that we find an entire absence of taxation, for then there exists no authority to enforce it. Conquered tribes everywhere recognize the right of the victors to demand tribute; this in fact is one of the most primitive forms of taxation. In many sections of the country, long before the coming of the white man, the Arabs had superimposed their system of tribute and taxation upon the negro tribes under their domination.⁶²

The theory of the present-day colonizing powers for the taxation of the African is that he should pay for the protection he receives and, according to British policy, if the native chiefs are unable to govern their people in such a way as to ensure peace and quiet in their countries, thereby compelling the administration to intervene, they must pay taxes.⁶³

Rondet-Saint asserts that in French Equatorial Africa the imposition of taxes has tended to drive the blacks away from intercourse and contact with the French. The real difficulty, it seems, is not so much the weight of the tax as the significance of it. The negroes consider taxes as a tribute which only the conquered owes to the conqueror, but they do not regard the French, under whose protection they live, as their conquerors, owing to the fact that the extension of French sovereignty was a matter of mutual agreement. Thus in order to collect taxes effectively the French would have to prove themselves conquerors in reality.⁶⁴ The Cyrenaica tribes refuse to let any foreigners enter their country; they say foreigners mean domination, domination means paying taxes, and they do not want to pay taxes. Therefore the best way to avoid being taxed is to prevent strangers from entering the region.⁶⁵ Similarly, the natives of British West Africa thought of taxation as equivalent to being dispossessed of power and property in what they regarded as their own country.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Dundas, Chas., "Native Laws of Some Bantu Tribes," in J. A. I., vol. LI (1921), p. 220.

⁶² Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," pp. 231-2.

⁶³ Johnston, Sir H. H., "The Uganda Protectorate," I, 258-9.

⁶⁴ Rondet-Saint, Maurice, "L'Afrique équatoriale française," pp. 242-3.

⁶⁵ Bey, A. M. Hassanein, "Crossing the Libyan Desert," in National Geographic Magazine, vol. XLVI (Sept., 1924), pp. 235-6.

⁶⁶ Kingsley, Mary H., "West African Studies," p. 375.

At this point let us observe some of the methods of taxation employed in Africa, the purpose, and the effects produced. The earliest system of taxation imposed by the whites upon the natives was directly in keeping with the dominant aim of exploitation. Thus in Portuguese West Africa the native chiefs were handed over to *conquistadores*, who exacted from them a tax in slaves as well as in goods and services. In addition to this the Governor D. M. P. Forjaz levied upon them a poll-tax. Garcia Mendes Castello Branco, in a memoir to the king in 1620, is outspoken in his complaint against the treatment accorded the native chiefs, who, he maintains, ought not to be taxed more heavily than when they were still the subjects of a native king.⁵⁷ Later we have the *prazos* system which exists to-day. The *prazo* is a lease by the state to an approved person or association of the sole right to collect native taxes. A census of the population in a district is made and the area is offered at auction to the highest bidder, the upset amount of rent payable being fifty per cent. of the native tax revenue estimated capable of collection. The *prazo* is then let to whosoever offers the highest bid over and above the value of one-half the estimated tax revenue. The proprietor thereupon is endowed with the authority of a native magistrate and can arm and maintain military police and settle all native disputes.⁵⁸ With a similar purpose of exploitation in view *prestations*, or taxes in kind, were levied in Belgian Congo.⁵⁹

Of all forms of taxes levied on the natives of Africa by the various European powers the hut tax seems to be the most popular. In Uganda all natives were liable to pay a hut and a gun tax of three rupees (4 s.) each annually. The hut tax, which could be paid by one month's labor, was said to have caused overcrowding, owing to unwillingness of the natives to occupy separate taxable huts.⁶⁰ It is also said to be responsible for decreased marriages. In order to correct this a special tax was imposed upon all who did not occupy huts of their own. In Nyasaland there is a tax of 6 s. per hut with an additional 6 s. for every wife after the first, and a poll-tax for any native not subject to the hut tax.⁶¹ The old ordinance of 1901 imposed a tax of 12 s. upon each owner or occupier of a hut with a rebate of 6 s. if the occupier could prove he had worked for a European for wages for a month. This was in fact a scheme to provide

⁵⁷ Ravenstein, E. G. (ed.), "Andrew Battel in Guinea," (Hakluyt), pp. 161-2.

⁵⁸ Maugham, R. C. F., "Zambezia," pp. 117-8.

⁵⁹ Bourne, H. R. F., "Civilisation in Congoland," pp. 173-4.

⁶⁰ Johnston, Sir H. H., "The Uganda Protectorate," I, 250.

⁶¹ Ordinance of March 31, 1921. Quoted in Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," p. 256.

forced labor by the mechanism of taxation. In Kenya Colony the poll-tax takes the place of a hut tax. The hut tax in Northern Rhodesia may not exceed £1; it is now 10 s. with an additional 10 s. for each wife after the first.⁶² A hut tax equivalent to about \$5.00 is collected in Portuguese West Africa and a head tax of about \$1.50 is levied in Angola.

The hut tax imposed by the Germans in 1897 in East Africa was strenuously resisted by the natives, and was one of the principal causes for the revolt of 1905-6.⁶³ Meyer asserts that the hut tax is not an incentive to make the aborigines work, that it leaves the bachelor and non-possessor of a hut tax-free, that it leads to a decline in the number of huts, aggravates bad conditions and finally imposes additional labor upon the women to earn the tax while the men remain idle.⁶⁴ In German Togoland a poll-tax of 6 s. or twelve days' labor was levied on every male over sixteen years of age; in the Kamerun the tax was 3 s. per adult male and 2 s. for each wife after the first. In Belgian territory there is a graded tax variable to meet the earning capacity of the native. In French territory there is a poll-tax which varies from 5 francs in some districts to 12.50 francs in others.⁶⁵ In Madagascar both a head tax and a hut tax are collected.⁶⁶

Miss Kingsley opposes the hut tax on the ground that it evokes a bitter feeling on the part of the natives, as in Sierra Leone, where they felt that the English were taking their lands away from them. The payment of a tax, to the mind of the native, is equivalent to paying a rental to the owner.⁶⁷ Lugard is of the opinion that the tax best suited to the African, and which best falls in line with his notion of justice, is a tax on income. This would obviate the misunderstanding which the hut tax has created in the native mind, namely that the government is confiscating his property. It would be in strict accord with native law and custom in Mohammedan regions as it is in harmony with the Koranic law. Accordingly, Lugard introduced such a tax in Northern Nigeria (March 1906). The ordinance states that "the principle on which the estimate or valuation of lands shall be made, shall be the amount of produce or profit which can be annually obtained from, and the number of live-stock that can be annually raised and supported on such land by a person cultivating and using the same,

⁶² Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," pp. 256-7.

⁶³ British Government Handbook no. 113, "Tanganyika" (German East Africa), pp. 34-6.

⁶⁴ Meyer, Hans, "Das Deutsche Kolonialreich," I, 398.

⁶⁵ Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," p. 257.

⁶⁶ Meyer, Hans, "Das Deutsche Kolonialreich," p. 399.

⁶⁷ Kingsley, Mary H., "West African Studies," pp. 331, 372.

in the manner and up to the average standard of cultivation and use prevailing in the neighborhood." Thus the tax aims at the less thrifty in that it is measured by profits realizable by the expenditure of ordinary normal industry and effort.⁶⁸ This system appears to have been quite successful.

Before concluding the matter of European control of the native peoples of Africa, it would be well to give a little thought to the problem of military conscription of the aborigines, and to the duties which our civilization has imposed upon itself for the preservation and development of these primitive societies. The military use and conscription of native forces is not a new problem, although it may appear so in the light of events which have occurred during and since the late war.

Long before Europeans began to think of appropriating the potential military strength of the natives, the Arabs had built up miniature kingdoms by the use of native forces. These military organizations were used to carry on the slave trade.⁶⁹ Similarly in the early days of Portuguese control in West Africa the *praso* system depended largely upon the conscription of natives.⁷⁰ In modern times, however, the first use of native soldiers on a large scale occurred in the Congo. The ordinance creating the native militia provided for companies and detachments in each district. "The Congo State's native militia," says Bourne, "has all along been nothing more than an unorganized and disorderly rabble of such savage allies as might be collected and employed . . . in looting and, when, as usually, they have been cannibals, in devouring the foes against whom they have been led, or sent without leading." To keep the ranks of the militia filled, the government authorities would order the chiefs to supply a certain number of slaves. These men were then entered upon the state books as *libérés* and sent to one of the military camps where they were drafted into the army. The District Commissary received £2 sterling for every serviceable recruit.⁷¹

In all the African dependencies armed forces of natives, generally under white officers, have been employed for the preservation of law and order. The wise use of native troops for purposes of such a nature can scarcely evoke criticism. With regard to conscripting natives for military service, however, Leroy-Beaulieu points out that such an act tends to place the aborigines on an equal footing with white colonists, that they will be

⁶⁸ Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," pp. 237-8.

⁶⁹ *Supra*, pp. 235-6.

⁷⁰ Maugham, R. C. F., "Zambezia," p. 114.

⁷¹ Bourne, H. R. F., "Civilisation in Congoland," pp. 76-7.

justified in demanding equal rights with the Europeans, and that suffrage for them would result in complete submerging of the white element.⁷²

The fact that Africa would make a fruitful military reserve for the colonizing powers came up before the League of Nations for consideration. To provide for such contingencies the Covenant prohibits military training of natives for other than police purposes and the defense of the territory.⁷³ This exception, as a matter of fact, offers such a good loophole that the prohibition is virtually nullified. For example, the restrictions against establishing fortifications cannot prevent the mandated power from constructing military works, blockhouses, or necessary posts to answer for police protection and defense against plunderers and rebels. Furthermore, as Antonelli expresses it, "l'interdiction de donner aux indigènes une instruction militaire devient purement platonique en fait, quand on ajoute: 'si ce n'est pour la police ou la defense du territoire'."⁷⁴ The French government has entirely refused to abjure the conscription of native Africans for purposes much wider than those of police and the defense of their own territory; they are subject to service for any military purpose of the French Republic, and the proviso referring to the interests of the indigenous population is not held to be operative. The French policy is advocated by its supporters on the ground that the conscription of natives is beneficial to them, has a civilizing influence, and raises their racial pride by exhibiting them as equal members of the great French Commonwealth.⁷⁵ Admitting the possibility that such gains may accrue to the savages, there is always the danger that the pace may be too rapid, and that the forced adjustments to a new type of life suddenly opened before them may in reality prove serious maladaptations.

We thus see that European interference with the native land system, the necessary stripping away of many of the chief's powers and the substitution of European for native law, the downfall of the secret societies with their appeal to supernatural sanction, the assimilation of European customs by the youth of the tribe and their consequent disdain for the ways of the ancestors, and finally, the weakening of the mother-right, all contribute to the decline of the native political organization. Its downfall is further hastened by the introduction of European taxation which is

⁷² Leroy-Beaulieu, Paul, "De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes," II, 536-8.

⁷³ Marvin, F. S., "Western Races and the World," p. 259.

⁷⁴ Antonelli, Étienne, "L'Afrique et la paix de Versailles," p. 232.

⁷⁵ Marvin, F. S., "Western Races and the World," p. 261. Morel, E. D., "The Black Man's Burden," pp. 221-2.

regarded by the natives as political tribute, and by training the African natives for European military purposes.

The most hopeful program for the future of the native races seems to be found in the attempts to preserve what is left of the native political organization; to permit the aborigines to live under their own customary law in so far as it does not clash with the moral concepts of western civilization; and to delegate to the chief the administration of native law and custom subject to necessary restrictions.

CHAPTER XXIX

DISINTEGRATION OF THE NATIVE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The native social system, as found among African tribes of varying degrees of culture, is in every case an adaptation to the life conditions peculiar to the individual group. Mores and customs which are often offensive to our stage of civilization represent ways, more or less justified, in which the aborigines have reacted upon the environment in their struggle for life and for self-realization. In the early days of societal contact, and even to-day to a limited extent, naïve ethnocentrism has exerted a sway so powerful as to cause people to believe that if the code of an alien society, especially if composed of savages or barbarians, did not conform to their own, or if their own were not adopted at sight as self-evidently superior, it was because of wilfulness and even wickedness.¹ The undermining of the native social system can be in large part attributed to this intolerant attitude of the white races toward the customs and the mores of the aborigines. Their ways were different from ours, therefore they were wrong.

Such narrow views are now almost obsolescent. Ignorance, lack of opportunity and incapacity, owing to inadequate mental, moral and social development, are admitted as legitimate reasons for the non-receptiveness of primitive peoples. And with this state of mind has come the realization that after all the customs of the savage races must have been justifiable in their place and time, and that possibly some of them continue to represent adaptations, the undermining of which forbodes no good to the "nature" peoples.

The present-day view of the majority of the colonizing nations dealing with aboriginal groups is that only those customs which are abhorrent to civilization should be interfered with. Others should be left to proceed in a natural evolution toward folkways which may represent better adaptation to the changes going on in the societal environment. The Brussels African Conference, in attempting to define the proper relations of the European nations to the Africans under their protection, describes their "subsidiary duties" in the following words: "To initiate [the native

¹ Keller, A. G., "Societal Evolution," pp. 251-3.

populations] in agricultural labor and in the industrial arts so as to increase their welfare; to raise them to civilization and bring about the extinction of barbarous customs, such as cannibalism and human sacrifices."²

Of those customs which stand in direct conflict with the mores of civilized society, cannibalism has undoubtedly been the most widely current in Africa. Cannibalism, as seems most likely, began in the interest of the food supply, especially of meat. "It became a leading feature of social life around which a great cluster of interests centered. Ideas were cultivated by it, and it became regulative and directive as to what ought to be done. The sentiments of kinship made it seem right and true that the nearest relatives should be eaten. Further deductions followed. . . . As to enemies the contrary sentiment found place in connection with it. It combined directly with ghost fear."³ In this way cannibalism became a life interest, intimately bound and connected with all the tissues of the social fabric. As a consequence the custom has proved to be one of the most difficult for Europeans to uproot. The natives consider the prohibition of cannibalism as a restriction upon their rights, and where permanent settlements have not taken place they retreat as fast as the white man encroaches upon them lest the prohibition be made effective. When living in settled communities and in direct contact with whites they frequently practise the rite in secret.⁴

It has been suggested that the entry of Europeans into the Congo regions increased the facilities for traveling and communication, and in this way non-cannibalistic tribes came into frequent contact with anthropophagous races. The result has been that "Races who until lately do not seem to have been cannibals, though surrounded by cannibal races, learned to eat human flesh. . . . Formerly the people who wandered from their own neighborhood among the surrounding tribes were killed and eaten and so did not return among their people to enlighten them by showing that human flesh was useful as an article of food."⁵

Torday believes that the best way to force the Bambala and neighboring tribes to give up cannibalism is not through laws which they do not respect, and which cannot be enforced, but by the use of magic. He says, "To wean the Bambala and other tribes from cannibalism it is necessary to give them a *kissi* [medicine] which will prevent them from eating human flesh under penalty of death if they disobey. I have not the slightest doubt that if someone in whom they had confidence adopted this

² Snow, Alpheus H., "The Question of the Aborigines," p. 175.

³ Sumner, W. G., "Folkways," pp. 340-1.

⁴ Rondet-Saint, Maurice, "L'Afrique équatoriale française," p. 239.

⁵ Bourne, H. R. F., "Civilisation in Congoland," p. 177.

means they would give up eating human flesh once for all."⁶ It cannot be gainsaid that magic plays a very important part in primitive man's life, but it is questionable that an institution so firmly rooted as anthropophagy can be removed so readily. It might be interesting to add that much of the resistance of non-cannibal tribes to the whites was a result of stories spread by Arab slave traders to the effect that Europeans were cannibals.⁷

In West Africa human sacrifice was one of the customs which took the British a long time to eradicate. Like cannibalism, human sacrifice was intimately connected with the religious mores. Slaves were sacrificed at the death of their master, and in cases of the death of the mother in child-birth the living child would be buried with her. The idea was that the child must accompany the mother so her *srahman* (spirit) would not grieve for it.⁸ The fact that these customs were religious in nature made it extremely difficult to stamp them out. It is likely that human sacrifice was never as extensively practised as has often been charged. Thus in Ashanti and Jaman many of the "human sacrifices" were criminals whose lives were forfeited by reason of their crimes. Whenever human bones were found by travelers they were taken as proof of the custom, and the presence of vultures in the region has even been offered as evidence of the practice.⁹ The Quissama used to kill and eat their criminals. In later years the custom seemed to become more flexible for they offered their criminals the choice of being eaten or of being sold as slaves to the Portuguese. It seems, however, that slavery was considered the most disgraceful punishment and most of the criminals preferred death.¹⁰

It is evident that native institutions, evil as they may seem to us, are often too closely bound up with the whole framework of society for a hasty attack upon them to be likely to succeed. The good in them may not be apparent, but it is obvious that no peoples could perpetuate from generation to generation social practices that were unqualifiedly evil. Even though some harmful mores do exist they are believed to be necessary for societal welfare, and often may have served a useful purpose in the past. The civilization of savage man "has a consistency as a whole, and we cannot easily eliminate certain parts and substitute for them those of our own civilization without dislocating the whole." The problem which

⁶ Torday, E., "Camp and Tramp in African Wilds," pp. 84-5.

⁷ Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," p. 359.

⁸ Ellis, A. B., "The Tshi-Speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast," pp. 234, 242.

⁹ Freeman, R. A. F., "Travels and Life in Ashanti and Jaman," pp. 473-5.

¹⁰ Price, F. G. H., "A Description of the Quissama Tribe," in J. A. I., vol. I (1870-1), p. 187.

faces the white man in Africa is to develop and bring into being new mores rather than merely to substitute one code for another. It is better that we abstain scrupulously from all needless destruction of social institutions; some may have to be swept away, by force, if need be. But these will not be numerous, and the number seems to diminish as they are exposed to careful scrutiny. "We have destroyed some few evil institutions, but it has been by erratic, sporadic effort, and we have seldom taken sufficient care to replace them by institutions of a healthy kind likely to aid the lower races' advance."¹¹

The relatively rapid change from old customs and mores to new ones observed among the aboriginal tribes, either as a result of prohibitions placed upon the primitive customs by the white rulers, or as a result of a too sudden progress induced by contact, frequently admits of unexpected reversions to the old type. Thus among the people of the Lower Congo the beliefs in fetish objects tend to reappear in all their vitality when propitious conditions, such as famine or a sudden calamity, favor the reawakening. Then old customs such as the killing of children, sorcery, and the like arise without restraint. It seems that these mores are so profoundly anchored in the mentality of the people that prolonged contact with Europeans has had scarcely any effect in erasing them from the folk-thought of the natives; they live by tradition and break out now and again.¹² The Malela have been influenced and affected by Arab civilization and culture more than any other tribe of the Batetela, but we continue to find among them signs of moon-worship which refer back to their primitive religion.¹³

One of the most interesting cases of reversion to primitive custom occurred a few years ago in the Kamerun. During the early days of French occupation after the late war various murders occurred at Dualla. The people always blamed them on the "panther men." In course of time the French authorities discovered that the "panther men" constituted an hereditary society. The victims of the organization were frequently children who were eaten by the members. Here was a clear-cut reversion to cannibalism. The "panther men" claimed great strength, one asserting that he could jump twenty-five meters when he became a panther; another, that the panther which he had "*dans la ventre*" rendered him stronger than four elephants. All this occurred in the proximity of Dualla, the

¹¹ Alston, L., "White Man's Work in Asia and Africa," pp. 72-5.

¹² Nippgen, J., "Une société secrète chez les Bas-Congo," in *Révue Anthropologique*, vol. XXXII (1922), pp. 110-21.

¹³ Torday, E., "Culture and Environment," in *J. A. I.*, vol. LI (1921), p. 375.

principal city, and where the natives came in daily contact with the administration and the missionaries. Thus it seems that without constant watch and surveillance the aborigines, however long they have been in contact with Europeans, show a tendency at times to return to their old customs, frequently the most absurd and dangerous.¹⁴

The perfectly natural process of acculturation has contributed much to the decay of native social institutions. The normal tendency is for the subject race to acquire through imitation the ways of the civilized, and more often than not these customs are incompatible with the native social and economic organizations which have been erected by preceding generations.

The loose touch-and-go association of general intercourse results in the masses imitating only that which they observe in the street, namely, the white man's vices, and these tend to disrupt native mores. The intellect is stimulated and the customs and societal sanctions lose their force with nothing to replace them.¹⁵ It has been observed that the less contact the Congo native has had with the lower phases of European life, so much the easier is he to treat with. He is still under the wholesome restraints of his own civilization, while his sophisticated brother hearkens neither to the course of conduct laid down by the civilized code nor to that approved by the native society.¹⁶ "Europe," says Ratzel, "transplanted the wild offshoots of its culture into West African folk-life a long time ago. Formerly guest-friendship, truth and faith were regarded as holy. The Christian trader uprooted these customs through his opposite demeanor and acts, and rudeness remains as the dominant characteristic."¹⁷

The men and women of the older generation, especially the women, are aware of the consequences of contact with whites. They see white culture breaking down the old law of mother-right and severing the tie between mother and child; they see white culture decreeing that there is community of goods between husband and wife, which the woman does not like because the husband, in fact, does not endow her with any of his goods, but endows himself with hers as far as the law permits; and which the husband does not like because the law would give the wife certain rights in his property, and saddles him with the support of his children. Then again they "see the fearful effects of white culture on the young women who cannot be prevented in districts under white control

¹⁴ Dimpault, Lieut., "Les hommes panthères du Camérout," in *Révue Anthropologique*, vol. XXVII (1917), pp. 452-4.

¹⁵ Dowd, J., "The Negro Races," II, pp. 275-6.

¹⁶ Wieser, Dr. J., "Belgische-Kongo," p. 64.

¹⁷ Ratzel, Friedrich, "Völkerkunde," II, 324.

from going down to the coast and to the Devil," and know that the young men of their tribe who have absorbed European mores look down upon their relatives in the native state, and disdainfully call their ancestors "polygamists."¹⁸

Having observed the general trend toward the break-up of the social structure which was characteristic of the African races in their natural state, let us now examine carefully what is happening in that small, but most important unit in the societal structure, namely, the family.

In the natural course of evolution one would expect the mores and customs centering about marriage and the family to be relatively stable, and not to show radical changes until modification had taken place in the primary mores, that is, those interests concerned directly with the struggle for existence. Such is undoubtedly the case. But many of the changes in family and marriage customs are the direct result of the white man's interference, and are not the products of a slow and ordered evolution. This is especially true with respect to forms of marriage which do not seem to be consonant with the European notion of what is right and proper.

The first Portuguese priests who went to the Congo region could not refrain from insisting upon a complete overthrow of the old mores. Says Leo Africanus:

"For although they shewed themselues docille, and tractable enough, while they were instructed onely about ceremonies, and diuine mysteries (because they thought that the higher those matters were aboue humaine capacity, the more they sorted and were agreable to the maiestie of God) neuerthelesse when they began to entreate seriously of Temperance, continence, restitution of other mens goods, forgiuing of iniuries, and other heades of Christian pietie, they found not onely great hinderance and difficultie, but euen plaine resistance and opposition. The king himselfe, who had from the beginning shewed notable zeale, was now somewhat cooled; who because he was loth to abandon his soothsaiers and fortune-tellers, but aboue all, the multitude of his concubines (this being a generall difficultie among the Barbarians) would by no means giue eare vnto the Preachers. Also the women (who were no reiected one after another) not enduring so suddenly to be banished from their husbandes, brought the court and roiall citie of Saint Saluador into a great vproare."¹⁹

It is interesting to note the effects of interference with the native form of marriage in Uganda. The people have been forced to change from polygamy to monogamy long before monogamy could be regarded as a necessary step to new life conditions. Johnston characterizes the substi-

¹⁸ Kingsley, Mary H., "West African Studies," pp. 377-8.

¹⁹ Africanus, Leo, "History and Description of Africa" (Hakluyt), pp. 1054-5.

tution of monogamy for polygamy as a means of salvation for Uganda. The people, he asserts, are becoming ashamed of marrying girls who have led a bad life before marriage. The appreciation of female chastity is distinctly rising, while at the same time young men find debauchery no longer fashionable, and endeavor to marry early and become the fathers of families.²⁰ Twenty years later, however, Roscoe points out that enforced monogamy in Uganda is breaking down the strength of the family and bringing innumerable vices in its wake. Monogamy has resulted in the existence of a large and ever-increasing surplus of women, owing to a preponderance of female births and to the migration of men to other territories. As a consequence these women, left husbandless and without an occupation, have nothing to restrain them from a rapid descent into the lowest depths of vice. Many of these idle women become most intimate with the worst classes of Indian traders through whom venereal diseases have been introduced. In Uganda venereal disease is tending to become as great a scourge as sleeping sickness was in the past. It has led to the virtual extinction of certain tribes.²¹

The influence of the white people on the customs of the Vandau has caused them in recent years to give up their time-honored practice of cattle-marriage. But the idea of a dowry still remains, the only difference being that it is now paid in money among those portions of the population nearest the coast and in most direct contact with the whites.²²

Contact with civilization has resulted in a more or less complete breakdown of the old code of morality respecting matters of sex. The European code has neither been understood nor accepted and thus there seem to exist no standards, unless it be the lowest forms copied from the most debased whites with whom the natives are able to form their more intimate social relationships. The morality of the negroes who have been in contact with civilization for some time is usually much below both that of the white race in general and that of their "bush" relatives. Referring to the increase of adultery in Africa, Marcossion says:

"Before the white man came to Africa chastity was held in deepest reverence. The usual punishment for infidelity was death. Some of the early white men were more or less promiscuous and set a bad moral example with regard to the women. The native believed that in this respect 'the white man can do no wrong' and the inevitable laxity resulted. When a woman deserts her

²⁰ Johnston, Sir H. H., "The Uganda Protectorate," II, p. 642.

²¹ Roscoe, John, "The Soul of Central Africa," p. 307.

²² Herskovits, M. J., "The Cattle Complex in East Africa," in *American Anthropologist*, vol. XXVIII (N. S. 1926), p. 371.

husband now all she gets is a sound beating. If a man elopes with the wife of a friend, he is haled before a magistrate and fined."²³

Among the Kafirs sexual irregularities, which were only allowed between young men and their betrothed lovers in the old days, are now practised freely, even by the children. Great strictness prevailed in the old Kafir society to maintain the chastity of the girls. For instance, every girl had to undergo an examination by a court of old women, before and after the great dances. The girls now refuse to submit to these examinations and threaten to complain to the white magistrate if they are examined against their will.²⁴ Other tribal restraints are meeting a similar fate. Europeans are largely responsible for destroying age-old conventions which seem foolish to us, but which served a useful purpose of restraint. The taboo on the use of a married woman's name illustrates this fact. According to native custom no one but the brother or husband of a married woman was permitted to use her name; others must designate her as the wife of so-and-so, and any breach of this rule justified the husband in killing the offender.²⁵ The violations of such conventions, usually excused if Europeans are at fault because they are thought to have no manners, are cumulative and undue familiarity rapidly ensues.

Of the various regulations which have their root in the family system and which have been transformed with the changes going on in the family as a result of contact, we must not omit that of inheritance. An illustration from the A-Kamba will suffice to make the idea clear. It was the custom among these people that the brothers of the deceased man should take his wives and divide them. During the last few years the grown-up sons have taken over the younger wives of their father after his death. Formerly this was looked upon as a heinous crime.²⁶ It seems that in the past woman was regarded not merely as property of the husband but as an acquisition of her husband's clan. At the same time the children were considered as more closely related to the mother's clan and could not have any property rights in their mother. But now, with the breakdown of the old mores, the widow is regarded the same as other property and is inherited by her own sons.

As would be expected, where the people of a higher cultural group have set out to replace the primitive mores of marriage and the family by their own, opposition develops. Variations will occur as a result of

²³ Marcossou, Isaac, "An African Adventure," p. 198.

²⁴ Kidd, Dudley, "Kafir Socialism," p. 49.

²⁵ Torday, E., "Camp and Tramp in African Wilds," pp. 165-6.

²⁶ Hobley, C. W., "The A-Kamba and Other East African Tribes," p. 82.

contact, but certainly the natural evolution of the African mores and customs will not be an immediate and thoroughgoing acceptance of a code so far removed from their own.

Perhaps the missionaries have done the most in attempting to bring about a complete overthrow of such native customs as do not seem consonant with those adjudged moral and proper in our society. Their insistence upon such radical changes has oftentimes proven detrimental to the spread of Christianity, as among the Kafirs who refused to give up their traditional custom of the bride-price.²⁷ To the Kafir the most important interests of life are centered about the food supply in the form of his herds. Consequently the ramifications of this primary interest extend to almost every act of daily life, and the bride-price represents the connecting link between these two important matters. None oppose the abolition of the bride-price more than the women who see in that the criterion of their worth and social status. The same attitude of the native mind could be seen when the British government promulgated a law against this custom in Natal. The women opposed it and even the men expressed the view that it would debase them socially were they to take their wives for nothing.²⁸

Another attack upon the established family life of the aborigines came in the form of taxation, whereby the various governments attempted to tax polygamy out of existence. In Belgian territory the government taxes the wives of a polygamist with the exception of the first. And in order to further encourage monogamy and child-bearing the Belgians exempt every man from the usual taxes who has four children or more by one wife.²⁹ This tax, however, produced an effect which was quite unexpected. The natives interpreted it as an official recognition of polygamy on the part of the government and favored it for that reason. It might be that if the tax were considerably raised it would tend to have the desired result.³⁰

The great demand for slaves in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries produced some very undesirable results with regard to domestic life. In the middle Congo a system called *basamba* has been developed and is found to-day, whereby the chief hires out a proportion of his wives on a monthly or yearly agreement. The scheme is based upon the native custom of absolute ownership by the husband. A weekly or a monthly

²⁷ Mason, Miss M. H., "The Transkei," in *Royal Geographic Journal* (July, 1918), p. 38.

²⁸ Ratzel, Friedrich, "Völkerkunde," II, 116.

²⁹ Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," p. 257.

³⁰ Wiese, Dr. J., "Belgische-Kongo," pp. 75-6.

"hire" in cash or its equivalent is paid and the offspring handed over to the husband and owner. If boys are born, they become domestic slaves with whom the chief can satisfy administrative demands for labor; if girls, the chief possesses a further source of revenue, either by hiring them out to "temporary husbands," or by purchasing other and older women for the same purpose.³¹ The evil effects of such a custom are apparent, since it furnishes a vehicle for the rapid spread of disease, hastens the break-up of old family and tribal ties and increases immorality. A somewhat similar state of affairs occurred among the Wakamba.

"During the time of the famine a great many Wakamba women went to live with the Indian coolies who were working on the railway, then in process of construction. Their object was simply to obtain food, not to gratify an illicit passion, and their male relations offered no objection to the proceeding. But when the famine passed, and children began to be born of these unions, the husbands came to the Indians and said they were ready to leave the women, but wanted the children. The Indians naturally wished to keep the children on the ground that they were the fathers, and not the Wakamba. But the latter could not understand this claim, and argued that the owner of a woman was the owner of any offspring she might produce, whoever the father in the ordinary sense of the word might be."³²

Before considering miscegenation and the effects produced, it is interesting to note that the presence of the white race has tended to break down the old tribal barriers with regard to marriage. Thus in the early days no marriages took place between the Fans, a cannibal tribe, and their non-cannibal neighbors near the coast. But as trade with the whites developed, the Fans overcame their aversions to their neighbors and sought wives amongst them in order to secure trade advantages. The non-cannibal tribes wanted the ivory and other articles of commerce which the Fans could furnish and consequently were not loath to intermarry with the cannibals; their abhorrence gradually gave way to the demands of trade.³³

In speaking of the mixed-blood race Reuter points out that it always occupies a higher status than does its darker-colored racial parent.³⁴ Thus the relatively high degree of culture attained by certain African tribes in the western Sudan has been attributed to their contact and intermarriage with the Arab invaders.³⁵ The transfusion of Arab blood has modified

³¹ Harris, John H., "Dawn in Darkest Africa," pp. 144-5.

³² Eliot, Sir Chas., "The East African Protectorate," p. 125.

³³ Du Chaillu, P. B., "Explorations in Equatorial Africa," p. 129.

³⁴ Reuter, E. B., "The Superiority of the Mulatto," in *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. XXIII (1917-8), p. 86.

³⁵ Boas, Franz, "The Mind of Primitive Man," pp. 14-5.

the temperament and character of the Swahili to a considerable degree. The antipathy of the true negro for the sea is characteristic, and it is clear that the strain of Arab or Persian blood has markedly changed him in this respect. The Swahili is also endowed with a much greater share of foresight than the unmixed negro. It is probable that Islam has disciplined him and raised his self-respect.³⁶ The Mohammedans employed the same method in civilizing the primitive races of Africa as was used by the ancients in dealing with the tribes of Europe, namely, intermarriage. The Arab invaders customarily took native wives and raised the children as members of their own family, thus placing before them the advantages of a higher culture. The institution of polygamy, common to both groups, furthered this assimilation.³⁷

The Portuguese blended more freely with the natives than any other of the European races with the possible exception of the Dutch. The Portuguese usually came to Africa with the intention of making a fortune and then returning to Lisbon. They seldom brought along their wives and commonly intermarried with native women. They never abandoned their half-caste children, but provided for them as though they were full-blooded Portuguese.³⁸ In many cases the half-breed children filled responsible positions in trade and commerce.

In South Africa the Boers dissociated their relations with the Hottentots from their ordinary code of mores. It was not thought immoral to use the Hottentot women as concubines, and so unscrupulous were they in this respect that whole races arose. These *Bastaards*, as the Dutch called them, were well treated, were not disowned, were usually converted to Christianity and taught to lead a more or less civilized life and to talk the Dutch language.³⁹ Scarcely any of the *Bastaards* speak the original language of the country nor do they retain many of the customs or traditions of their primitive ancestors. In general they are very reluctant to admit that they have any Hottentot blood in their veins.⁴⁰ The *Bastaards*, living on the boundary of the colony, are said to be the best shooters, the most skilful hunters and the craftiest traders, but on the other hand they possess some of the worst vices of the white man.⁴¹

The tendency to create a new race in the half-caste and in the civilized negro is likewise shown in Liberia. Here some ten thousand

³⁶ Pearce, F. B., "Zanzibar," p. 240.

³⁷ Boas, Franz, "The Mind of Primitive Man," p. 15.

³⁸ Livingstone, D., "Travels and Researches in Africa," p. 399.

³⁹ Johnston, Sir H. H., "The Colonization of Africa," pp. 81-2.

⁴⁰ Howison, John, "Views of the Colonies," I, 238.

⁴¹ Ratzel, Friedrich, "Völkerkunde," I, 707.

liberated slaves formed a colony and brought with them the culture and ideals acquired in America. They held aloof from the natives and felt it a disgrace to intermarry with them. The new settlers, born and raised in the United States, were scarcely more immune from African fevers than a people of European origin. Mulattoes suffered more than full-blooded negroes and quadroons more than mulattoes. This has resulted in a gradual decrease of the half-breeds and a proportionate increase of a purely negro type. Down to 1880 or so the feeling of shame prevented the colonists from marrying natives, but since then there have been many unions with the aborigines in spite of caste prejudice, and new vigor has been infused into the Americo-Liberian element.⁴²

The evidence presented above must lead to the conclusion that the disintegration of the native social system as a result of contact with races of a "higher" civilization is inevitable. The ethnocentric attitude and intolerance of the dominant group have everywhere resulted in more or less successful attempts to wipe out native customs; and likewise, the tendency of the negro to imitate the ways of the whites, handicapped as he is by the inability to distinguish the good from the bad in an alien culture, has gone far to complete the movement.

⁴² Johnston, Sir H. H., "Liberia," I, 274-5.

CHAPTER XXX

AFRICAN MISSIONARIES AND NATIVE EDUCATION

It would seem that one of the most accessible points of contact by which the mores of western civilization may be transmitted to the primitive peoples of Africa is through the missionary. But, unfortunately, missionary effort has not taken advantage of the situation and we find the total effects are very slight indeed. As a matter of fact, we might look for the fundamental difficulty in the character and make-up of the missionary himself. His home training has more often than not been of the book variety, a study of dogma and creed, but with very little taste of the actual facts of life, either at home or in the missionary field. In other cases all that is necessary is a certain degree of enthusiasm for propagating the Gospel; a short course in some local institute or seminary and the individual is equipped to go out as a full-fledged missionary.¹ Captain Wilson distinguishes three principal types of missionaries. There is the sincere, devoted self-sacrificing minister of the Gospel, sometimes bigoted, sometimes fanatical and sometimes obstinate and difficult, but invariably a man to respect and admire. Then there is the disillusioned missionary and lastly, the man who is a missionary because he can get a living more easily that way than in any other.²

As mentioned with reference to the Melanesian missions,³ the missionary usually sets out with a complete stock of religious mores as well as social and economic convictions which he has obtained in the home country. He is convinced of the superiority of his own code and of the absolute necessity of substituting it for that of the benighted savage. The missionaries strike directly at the secondary societal forces. Thus instead of asking the savage to adopt new methods and habits for which there are immediate tests to make superiority obvious, ecclesiastics are prone to seek the overthrow of all native beliefs ensemble, and to substitute therefor the teachings of the common school and the university and the abstract doctrine of a highly developed phase of Christianity. But native religious life is founded on the economic, family and political traditions

¹ Lenz, Oskar, "Wanderungen in Afrika," p. 193.

² Wilson, Capt. H. A., "A British Borderland," p. 308.

³ *Supra*, p. 180

and institutions of the race, and wherever these appear in conflict with the current notions of Christianity and western ideals the missionary becomes intolerant of their survival.

It is this lack of forbearance for native custom which leads to the greatest opposition on the part of the aborigines.

"Missionaries always have to try to act on the mores. The ritual and creed of a religion, and reading and writing would not fulfill the purpose. The attempt is to teach the social ritual of civilized people.

"Missionaries almost always first insist on the use of clothing and the practice of monogamy. The first of these has, in a great number of cases, produced disease and hastened the extinction of the aborigines. The second very often causes a revolution in the societal organization, either in the family form, the productive industry, or the political discipline." ⁴

And again, the missionary teaches the doctrine of the community of goods between husband and wife, a custom which can find no place in the present stage of native life, and which evokes the bitterest enmity of both.⁵ Sudden and impolitic attacks upon such deeply rooted practices as witchcraft often do more harm than good to the cause for which the missionaries are working. Thus, "when the missionary finds himself hindered in his work by a belief in witchcraft held by the native elders of his congregation, his impulse is to combat it without mercy, even to the point of excommunicating the offenders for their belief, forgetful of the fact that belief in witchcraft was current in Christian Europe a very few years back, if it was not actually to be counted an integral part of the Christian creed." ⁶

The first Portuguese mission in Africa at Inhambane failed because of the intolerance of the priests for local customs. All went well until the dusky proselytes realized the extent of the responsibilities to which they had committed themselves. Then they expressed themselves clearly and unmistakably on the subjects of polygamy, witchcraft and war, and many other habits and customs to which they had been reared and which they were now pledged to abjure. The clergy remained deaf to the native pleas for toleration and the aborigines settled the controversy by murdering them.⁷

It is not to be wondered at that savage peoples resent interference in the sex division of labor to which they are accustomed. For example,

⁴ Sumner, W. G., "Folkways," p. 112.

⁵ *Supra*, p. 317.

⁶ Alston, L., "White Man's Work in Asia and Africa," pp. 62-3.

⁷ Maughan, R. C. F., "Zambezia," pp. 24-5.

the men in British Central Africa did all the sewing—it was man's work and no woman ever thought of encroaching upon that field. But when the missionaries came they immediately set to work to instruct the women in sewing, but not the men.⁸ It was to be woman's work thereafter; it must be in accord with our mores.

The people of Yao for a long time evinced a certain degree of hostility to the missionaries who had settled among them. They could not understand the logic of brotherly love as taught by the clericals. They had given the land to the Mission and welcomed the settlement, but their attitude changed when the Mission began to draw a large proportion of its pupils from chiefs who were hostile to the Yao and might be plotting to "take away their country."⁹

Livingstone attributed much of the native opposition to Christianity to the fact that the negroes were forced to think about matters which had never bothered them before.

"Some begin to pray to Jesus in secret as soon as they hear of the white man's God, with but little idea of what they are about. . . . Others, waking by night, recollect what has been said about the future world so clearly that they tell what a fright they got by it and resolve not to listen to the teaching again; and not a few keep to the determination not to believe, as certain villagers in the south, who put all their cocks to death because they crowed the words, 'Tlang lo rapeleng'—'come along to prayers.'"¹⁰

Missionaries are seldom alive to the fact that one of the principal reasons why the savage does not accept Christianity unqualifiedly and with open arms is because he is a rational being, uninfluenced by the element of pathos which surrounds Christianity; consequently inconsistencies in the Bible, of which the ecclesiastic is entirely oblivious, are quickly noticed. Colenso, Anglican Bishop of Natal, found the Zulus, whom he thought to convert, suspicious of the legendary features of the Old Testament, and realized the danger which threatened the English Church and Christianity—the danger of tying its religion and morality to interpretations and conceptions of Scripture more and more widely seen and felt to be contrary to facts. Therefore, when his catechumens questioned him regarding some of the Old Testament legends, the bishop determined to tell the truth and thereby brought the wrath of the clergy upon his shoulders.¹¹

⁸ Werner, A., "The Native Races of British Central Africa," p. 271.

⁹ MacDonald, Duff, "Africana," II, 24.

¹⁰ Livingstone, D., "Travels and Researches in Africa," p. 255.

¹¹ White, Andrew Dickson, "A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology," II, 349-50.

As a general rule religious teachers lay too much stress upon creeds and ceremonials. When the negroes are induced to give up those practices which have had the sanction of their religion and conscience, they acquire new traits and habits which tend to disturb their moral life and standards. They readily get the notion that baptisms, sacraments, prayers, songs and church-going, and some theological doctrine which they do not understand, are the only essential elements in religion and have no connection with their everyday acts.¹² Thus in San Thomé Christianity was never more than a surface culture and rapidly degenerated into fetish worship after the Dominican teachers had been removed.¹³ Miniature chapels very similar to the fetish houses of the mainland of Africa are to be found scattered all over the island. In most of these one sees little prayer-stools, and in all of them a rude cross hewn with the native ax and the cross pieces bound together with forest vines. The crosses are usually surrounded with pagan charms, and thus all that is least essential in Christianity is perpetuated with the superstitions of paganism.¹⁴ The negroes in the Sudan seek absolute assurance of protection by wearing Moslem armlets blessed by Holy Men, Catholic crucifixes obtained from the Good Fathers, and charms of their own pagan witch doctors.¹⁵ Father José Antonio de Souza, who resided at San Salvador from 1881-87 and was subsequently made Bishop of Mozambique, asserted that "Christianity did not penetrate deeply: it passed over the country like a heavy rain which scarcely wetted the surface of the land and left the subsoil absolutely dry and sterile."¹⁶

Lévy-Bruhl points to the fact that the collective idea, which is so common to the primitive mind, is a serious obstacle to making Christianity comprehensible to the savage. The devout missionary wants to save individual souls and bends every effort to persuade each of his auditors as to the need of abandoning pagan practices and of conversion to the true faith. But the natives seldom have any idea of individual salvation. Although they believe that death is only a passage to another mode of existence, they do not conceive that they can be saved or damned, each on his own account; their deep and profound sentiment of solidarity with the group prevents that. As a consequence we find that many times conversions to Christianity are collective, especially where the authority

¹² Dowd, J., "The Negro Races," pp. 425-6.

¹³ Theal, George M'C., "South Africa," pp. 380-1.

¹⁴ Harris, John H., "Dawn in Darkest Africa," pp. 271-2.

¹⁵ Heard, D. B., "Cotton and the Sudan," in the *American Review of Reviews*, vol. LXXIV (July, 1926), p. 58.

¹⁶ Ravenstein, E. G. (ed.), "Andrew Battel in Guinea" (Hakluyt), pp. 134-5.

of the chief is well established. So it was with the Basutos. The conversion of the chief is the conversion of the entire group personified in him. And when converted the sentiment of organic solidarity with the group does not give place to a definite consciousness of individual personality. The missionary simply takes the place of the chief and it now becomes his duty to assure to the group the good graces of God, where before the chief guaranteed the support of the ancestors and of the spirits by traditional ceremonies and sacrifices.¹⁷

A rather serious problem has been created in many parts of the Dark Continent where missionaries in their zeal have preached and instilled into the savages the notion that they are the equals of the white man.¹⁸ Now the missionary undoubtedly thinks of equality as a spiritual condition, whereas the native conceives of it as a material fact applying to social and economic status. Some few missionaries, however, adopt the latter view, and carry the ideal of equality of man to a point which the intelligence of primitive man does not appreciate in its true significance. That the white man should come to Africa to do menial work in the furtherance of an altruistic ideal seems absurd and is incomprehensible to the aborigine. The result is that the missionary is regarded as queer; he loses his own influence for good and lessens the prestige of Europeans in general.¹⁹ Boshart observes that all the negro understands of the missionary's phrase "equality of man" is that somehow he will not have to work if he does not want to.²⁰ One must admit, at any rate, that it is a fatal error to teach social and political doctrines which hold out false hopes to the negro. The consequence is that those negroes who have been benefited by contact with civilization feel no obligation or gratitude to the white race for having raised them from a stage of savagery or barbarism. On the contrary, they are made to hate the white man for denying him what the missionary has promised. The ridiculous pretensions and demands of the half-civilized excite the counter-antagonism of the white man and kindle racial conflict. This in turn only militates against the negro in the struggle for existence.²¹

Africa has not been free from these denominational squabbles which invariably present to the native the very habits and mores he is asked to eschew. Thus in Uganda the Moslems had become well established when the field was invaded by Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries.

¹⁷ Lévy-Bruhl, L., "La mentalité primitive," pp. 465-6, 475.

¹⁸ Pinto, Serpa (tr.), "How I Crossed Africa," p. 302.

¹⁹ Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," p. 589.

²⁰ Boshart, August, "Zehn Jahre Afrikanischen Lebens," p. 223.

²¹ Dowd, J., "The Negro Races," I, 428-9.

The Christians and the Mohammedans fought out their differences in bloody battles. The Christians won, but with this common danger removed the rival Christian sects (which perhaps were more political than religious, representing French and English influence respectively), were soon settling their mutual antagonism in the old way, and the Protestants were victorious.²² These struggles for ascendancy so perplexed and irritated the native chief, Mtesa, that he was often heard to regret that he had invited any missionaries at all to his country.²³ Where the two sects, Catholic and Protestant, are contiguous it is unusual not to find some friction. Pinto mentions a case of Protestant churchmen telling the negro that the Catholic missionary is so poor that he cannot even afford to buy a wife! "and thus seeking to cast opprobrium upon him, for in Africa it is almost a crime to be poor. On the other hand the Catholics leave no stone unturned to throw discredit upon the Protestants."²⁴ Furthermore, the special dogmas of the "Mennonite Brothers in Christ," the "Pentecostal Missions," and many others confuse the African, and are probably to a large degree responsible for that secessional movement which in West Africa has led to the establishment of various African churches in which polygamy or some other departure from orthodoxy is introduced.²⁵

At this point let us pause to consider the respective appeals of Islam and of Christianity, and then of the two great branches of the Christian faith, Protestantism and Catholicism. If we compare Islam with Christianity it will be observed that Mohammedanism stands out as being the more rude and physical, the more uncivilized and primitive. It is like the Christianity of the Middle Ages with the faith of religious zealots burning with ardor, but lacking in perspective. It is indeed the narrower, the sterner, the simpler and the more rigorous creed, the creed of the ascetic and the fanatic. It seems to be the ideal faith for the mentally undeveloped races because of its stubbornness and virility and, above all, the important fact that the Koran lays down a code for the whole of life, temporal as well as spiritual. The Moslem convert is not confronted at the outset by bewildering and apparently contradictory differences between the law of God and the law of man.²⁶

Islam is a militant creed which teaches contempt for members of the "out group." It is readily acceptable because it places no strain upon the

²² Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," p. 587.

²³ Johnston, Sir H. II., "The Uganda Protectorate, I, 223.

²⁴ Pinto, Serpa (tr.), "How I Crossed Africa," p. 218.

²⁵ Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," p. 588.

²⁶ Wilson, Capt. H. A., "A British Borderland," pp. 303-4.

character of the native, his self-conceit, or vanity. The conditions of life for centuries have made the African a devotee of force and he has been quick to adopt the creed of the conqueror, chiefly for the prestige it brought. Victory had proved its survival value; it had met the test better than his native belief. Furthermore, the very excesses, the capture of women as slaves and concubines and the looting of villages as practised by the Moslems, are all consistent with the native's ideals. There are many other things in the religion of Mohammed which attract the blacks. It sanctions polygamy, and it not merely approves domestic slavery but has countenanced ruthless raiding for slaves. Furthermore, it has the appearance of an indigenous religion spread by the people themselves, or by men of like race with similar social standards. It does not depend on the supervision of alien teachers.²⁷

On the other hand, Christianity with its more abstruse tenets, its stricter code of sexual morality, its exaltation of peace and humility, its recognition of brotherhood with the slave, the captive and the criminal, do not appeal to the mores of the negro. It requires an educated man to appreciate or to understand the Christian religion of to-day. It is infinitely more complex and subtle than the creed of the early church.²⁸ Like everything else Christianity has been subject to evolution, and as education and knowledge have advanced in the western world, the Christian religion has been subjected to the strain towards consistency.²⁹

The most magnetic allurements possessed by the Christian church to win over the negro are its hymns, church music and ritual. Indeed ritual is the prevailing method of activity in primitive society; it is perfunctory and excites but little thought. Thus to the savage, incapable of understanding abstract theological instruction, Catholicism offers a much stronger appeal than Protestantism.

To summarize the effectiveness of Islam, and of the Catholic and Protestant churches, we can do no better than to quote the words of Professor Keller:

"In the natural order of things, the inculcation of the simple and less evolved will proceed with success, where more pretentious efforts are sure to fail. It is found, for example, that savages take to Mohammedanism more readily than to Christianity; and to the Catholic faith more easily than to the Protestant. For Islam interferes but little with most of the so-called barbarian customs, such as polygamy; and a ritualistic and ceremonial religion is nearer

²⁷ Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," p. 77-8.

²⁸ Wilson, Capt. H. A., "A British Borderland," p. 304.

²⁹ Sumner, W. G., "Folkways," p. 39.

shamanism than one which demands metaphysical conceptions—conceptions, indeed, which the savage brain is physically unable to comprehend and harbor. All highly evolved religious, moral, and political conceptions adopted by savages undergo a transformation which leaves them essentially of the savage type. The terms are changed; the equation is the same. Hence the actual impossibility of the introduction of any but the most rudimentary and simple ideas of a refined and evolved civilization.”³⁰

It is easy to overestimate the good which Christian missionaries have done in Africa. This is especially so when we study the nature of the average native Christian, whom Wilson characterizes as frequently a low-down outcast, ready and willing to profess anything which promises the likelihood of a soft job. To this class of individual the mission presents an ideal field for operations, especially when that spirit of rivalry, of reckoning success by the number of converts obtained, prevails among neighboring missions.³¹

The inability of Christianity to compete on equal terms with the faith of Mohammed, and its general ineffectiveness, virtually force one to agree with Johnston, that if Christianity is to become permanently rooted in a negro race it is necessary that it be maintained by a higher power for a long period as the religion of the state.³² In other words Christianity must be forced upon the negro until he has a chance to catch up to the white race in cultural development.

EDUCATION

Certainly the most important function of the missionary is that of education, primarily religious instruction, if we view the matter from the ecclesiastical standpoint. But the important question is whether a religious education can be given successfully without building a foundation upon a solid economic footing so that the native may fit himself into the new régime which the presence of European civilization is producing. How can the native intelligently adopt a new religion which is consistent with and in conformity to—indeed, erected upon—an industrial stage to which he is not at all adjusted? It would seem that adjustment to the economic order introduced by the European must occur before we can expect a whole-hearted acceptance of a foreign religious code dependent thereon.

³⁰ Keller, A. G., “A Sociological View of the Native Question,” in the *Yale Review*, vol. XII (Nov., 1903), p. 274.

³¹ Wilson, Capt. H. A., “A British Borderland,” p. 307.

³² Johnston, Sir H. H., “The Colonization of Africa,” pp. 146-7.

Contrasting the methods of the trader and the missionary Keller says commercial activities "have enlisted imitation, where missions, for example, have attempted inculcation; they have worked 'with the grain,' so to speak, where agencies of inculcation have gone against it. They have impinged immediately upon the maintenance-mores where other agencies have attempted to begin with the secondary societal forms."³³ This, indeed, is a suggestion for the missionary, which means that he should prepare the field by working on the primary economic factors of life, and that then the secondary religious mores will naturally tend to fall in line. At least it will be much easier to direct them after the native has acquired the fundamentals of our civilization. But, as a matter of fact, there has been a great deal of prejudice against attacking the problem in this manner. It has not been thought proper to speak of the belly and of the spirit in one breath; and even less proper to speak of the belly first and to whisper of the spirit only in later chosen moments.³⁴ There is an element of "pathos"³⁵ about spiritual matters which seems to inhibit the ecclesiastic from associating them with material facts, although it is common knowledge that the former are complementary to the latter.

Let us now glance at a few illustrations which will show the character of the product turned out by missionary as well as public schools. In many of the English missions efforts have been confined to instruction in purely academic subjects. Ability to blab Bible phrases and psalms quite without understanding, to recite lessons in mathematics, English, geography and like subjects are worthless externalities, entirely inappropriate for upraising a people living on such a low cultural plane as the African. Little or no thought has been given to developing the industrial proclivities of the natives, with the result that the average mission child becomes haughty, hypocritical and slothful.³⁶

Even in cases where the government has taken a prominent part in the education of native children, we find perpetuated a similar mistake of regarding as the prime essential a literary education such as would be afforded to the children of civilized people. Furthermore, it has been thought necessary to have the native children assimilate European ideas as rapidly as possible, especially those which cultivate a spirit of antagonism

³³ Keller, A. G., "Societal Evolution," p. 244.

³⁴ Meyer, E. C., "Creating Social Values in the Tropics," in *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. XXI (1915-6), p. 664.

³⁵ Sumner, W. G., "Folkways," pp. 180, 181. "Pathos is the glamour of sentiment which grows up around the pet notion of an age and people, and which protects it from criticism. . . . The thing is cherished with such a preestablished preference and faith that it is thought wrong to verify it."

³⁶ Schmidt, Rochus, "Deutschlands Kolonien," II, 291-2.

to native institutions and beliefs and a contempt for native traditions.³⁷

Liberia College has existed since 1862 and has taught a great deal of useless Greek and Latin, Miltonian and Shakespearian English to its pupils. It has never offered instruction in any of the native languages and has done nothing for African zoölogy or African botany; no society has ever been founded for the study of indigenous cultivable plants, but a little attention has been given tropical American agriculture. Thus we see the same tendency exemplified here as in the majority of mission and government schools.³⁸

In West Africa "civilization has certainly succeeded in putting a considerable number of blacks into uncomfortable boots and tight and starched clothes, and their women outwardly into grotesque caricatures of Paris fashions, as anyone may witness by spending even only a few hours at Sierra Leone, for instance, where he will see the inoffensive native transformed into a miserable strutting bully, insolent to the highest degree, taught to consider himself the equal of the white man, as full as his black skin can hold of overweening conceit, cant and hypocrisy, without a vice or superstition removed, or a virtue engrafted in his nature, and calling the native whose industry supplies him with food, 'You nigga! Sah!'"³⁹ The Americo-Liberians, proud of their culture, worship clothes as the outward and visible manifestation of Christianity and the best of civilization. They have erected the Bible into a sort of fetish and exhibit the Puritanism of New England in the eighteenth century almost unabated.⁴⁰

Kidd is authority for the statement that the Kafirs are being over-educated. The impatience of the white preceptors who insist on cramming unsuitable knowledge into the heads of the aborigines guarantees a maximum of risk to the former and a minimum of good to the latter. Whereas a little simple education would improve them, an excess of education at the present stage tends to undermine whatever virtues they have.⁴¹ A very good example of the effects of a smattering education can be seen in the case of the Kosa Kafirs. They had recently suffered a heavy loss of their cattle as a result of an epidemic of rinderpest and in their despondency were quite willing to listen to any scheme which would

³⁷ Dowd, J., "The Negro Races," I, 424.

³⁸ Johnston, Sir H. H., "Liberia," I, 365.

³⁹ Monteiro, J. J., "Angola and the River Congo," p. 63.

⁴⁰ Johnston, Sir H. H., "Liberia," I, 353-5.

⁴¹ Kidd, Dudley, "Kafir Socialism," pp. 186-7.

permit them to recoup their fortunes. Among their number was a prophet who boasted a meager education at a mission school, and had there learned of the Crimean War. At the crucial moment he arose and announced that the dead and gone Kafir chiefs would be resurrected, and would return to earth with their followers, bringing with them a new race of cattle exempt from disease. He also predicted that Russian soldiers would come to their assistance to attack the British, and that the black race would triumph over the white. However, to bring about the fulfilment of this oracle he directed that the Kafirs must destroy all their existing cattle and crops, which they conscientiously did. But on the day set for the resurrection nothing happened, and the consequences of this delusion were terrible.⁴²

It is said that the output of the negro schools in Lagos is unreliable, lacking in integrity, self-control and discipline, and without respect for authority of any kind. Opposition to the educational system emanates from both the colonists and the uneducated natives. The former resent the overbearing attitude of the "educated" negro who has no respect for the white man as a member of a higher race and will push him out of the way on a crowded thoroughfare without ceremony.⁴³ The untutored natives dislike the school products because they look down upon and despise their "bush" relatives. One Sierra Leone chief said education "teaches youths to despise their elders," and others ascribe the increased cost of food to the unwillingness of the youths from the schools to work upon the land. Government non-denominational schools were first established in Ashanti in 1911 because the Christian converts and pupils refused service to their chiefs.⁴⁴ It is noticeable that the semi-educated and half-Europeanized natives are given over to alcoholic excesses much more than their more humble brethren.⁴⁵

The native who has been educated in Europe is no better specimen than the one instructed at home. When Portuguese influence was first spread over West Africa many young Congoese were sent to Lisbon to be educated, but the results were far from gratifying.⁴⁶ Likewise those from the Kamerun who had been trained in Europe returned to their

⁴² Johnston, Sir H. H., "The Colonization of Africa," pp. 171-2.

⁴³ Asmis, W., "Law and Policy," in *Journal of the African Society*, vol. XII (1912-3), p. 24.

⁴⁴ Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," p. 428.

⁴⁵ MacDonald, A. J., "Trade, Politics and Christianity in Africa and the East," p. 82.

⁴⁶ Ravenstein, E. G. (ed.), "Andrew Battel in Guinea" (Hakluyt), p. 113.

native homes as social misfits; they collected a mass of information and useless knowledge as well as bad habits.⁴⁷

The educated element of African society forms a distinct class, one might almost say a race, apart from their fellow tribesmen. This group has nothing in common with the indigenous tribes of Africa, and it is seldom that an educated negro leaves his native town except to travel by sea or railway. One may frequently hear him speak of going "home" to England. The Europeanized African is in all respects removed from the rest of the people by a gulf which no racial affinity can bridge. Some even resent being called negroes. It is said that during the late war native priests and ministers showed a contempt for and an aloofness from the natives in their spiritual charge unknown between white men of unequal social standing.⁴⁸

The educated negroes of Southern Nigeria and the native press in Lagos take every opportunity to criticize attempts by the government to awaken a national feeling among the natives. They are the ones who so strongly advocated an independent Christian church in which polygamy would be sanctioned.⁴⁹ The Europeanized natives have generally opposed all schemes whereby local government would be administered by the chiefs. They object to this because it places the native chief, who has no school-room education and who may not even know the English language, in a position of authority over his people, and incidentally tends to make him independent of the educated native barrister or adviser.⁵⁰

The above facts are sufficient to show that the education which has been placed before the native is radically wrong. It is not fitting him to play a useful rôle in society, nor is it tending to uplift the masses. Rather it is producing social classes and instilling in the mind of the educated negro a feeling of superiority over his fellow tribesmen and a feeling of equality as regards the white man. It is breeding class and race conflict. The conclusion is forced upon one that the only solution to be found is in some sort of industrial training.

Before the World War the strongest trend toward industrial and vocational education for the natives was to be noted in the German territories. Negroes who could play the piano and converse on such erudite subjects as the Shakespeare-Bacon controversy were at a discount with the Ger-

⁴⁷ Schmidt, Rochus, "Deutschlands Kolonien," II, 91-2. Dominik, Hans, "Kamerun," p. 34.

⁴⁸ Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," p. 81.

⁴⁹ Asmis, W., "Law and Policy," in *Journal of the African Society*, vol. XII (1912-3), p. 25.

⁵⁰ Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," p. 223.

mans. Their boast was that in teaching the aborigines they did not insist upon German political history, the dates of the Crusades and the like as was the rule in English schools.⁵¹ Instead, the "curricula" were generally the rational ones,—rudiments of reading, writing, and supplementary education in the various trades.⁵²

In East Africa great efforts were being made to bring to the natives the benefits of a practical education. There was no compulsory educational system, but the government schools had made a very good start by 1913 and had laid the foundation for an excellent education.⁵³

An interesting fact to note is that some of the more enlightened chiefs were largely responsible for the introduction of industrial and vocational training in their regions. One of the best examples is that of the Basuto chief, Moshesh, who negotiated with the French missionaries to found a school in his territory, and stipulated that along with religious and moral instruction training should be given in such useful trades and handicrafts as were likely to advance the Basutos toward civilization.⁵⁴

One of the first missionaries to realize the greater advantages to be had by correlating religious instruction with industrial training was Hugo Hahn. Through arduous work and care he came to know the true character of the Herero among whom he worked. He concluded that it was a false principle to preach Christianity to an uncivilized people who were quite unprepared to receive it. Accordingly he set to work to appeal to their own economic interests on the theory that one must lay a lasting foundation for material culture among a heathen people with respect to practical life and useful citizenship, and then, when the well-being of the people is based upon the power of labor and the capacity thus learned, one can go a step further and offer Christianity to the group. When Hahn founded the mission station at Otyimbingue in 1864 he carried out the above ideals, and brought along with him artisans and workers who acted as teachers for the aborigines, offering instruction in wagon-building, iron-making, pottery work and the like. Hahn further departed from the

⁵¹ In Cape Colony, in 1891, there were 316,152 native children between the ages of 5 and 14 of which some 34,000 were taught in schools receiving government support. In 1904, 73,000 children out of over 500,000 were receiving instruction. For Natal, in 1897, we find 182 state aided schools instructing 10,248 children out of a native population of 787,000. In 1904 the native population had increased to 910,000; the school attendance had decreased slightly to 10,150, and the number of state aided schools had fallen to 165. Robertson, J. M., "The Tutelage of Races," in *Sociological Review*, vol. I (1908), pp. 163-5.

⁵² Keller, A. G., "Colonization," p. 589.

⁵³ Lewin, Evans, "The Germans and Africa," p. 283. *British Government Handbook* no. 113, "Tanganyika" (German East Africa), p. 38.

⁵⁴ Lagden, Sir Godfrey, "The Basutos," I, 303.

orthodox opinion of missionary duties by carrying on a limited trade with the aborigines, but only in such commodities as were useful to the Herero, and without any view to profit on the part of the mission.⁵⁵

Some of the Roman Catholic Missions seem to have done much in the way of affording an industrial education to the Africans. The French Catholic Mission in Gabun has provided work places for instructing youths in various trades and has turned out many good smiths, joiners, carpenters and other craftsmen. It also manages a plantation where the negroes are taught the best methods of growing coffee, cocoa and other tropical products.⁵⁶ Torday holds the work of the White Fathers to be exemplary. They devote most of their time to teaching the natives the essentials of good husbandry, and have a number of villages round about where they have induced their pupils to settle. These villages are largely autonomous and elect their own chiefs; they are visited regularly by the priests who, apart from religious instruction, teach the settlers what a good farmer must know to keep up with agricultural progress. The White Fathers do not instruct the natives in any European language; only the Swahili tongue is used. Aside from industrial training their protégés are just like the other natives; they are encouraged to respect native laws and old customs as well as the white man's law.⁵⁷ The Roman Catholic Mission at Kribi in the Kamerun has likewise given much attention to industrial training. The Mission has built a church and many other buildings for school and industrial purposes. The boys are instructed by the lay brothers in all possible handicrafts, and are required to work daily on the coffee plantation and in the fields of the Mission.⁵⁸

Various Protestant denominations have already followed the lead set by the Church Missionary Society in its industrial mission at Mombasa.⁵⁹ The mission of the Dutch Reformed Church in Nyasaland was characterized by the Educational Commission of the Phelps-Stokes Fund as without an equal. The greatest stress is placed upon agriculture, and simple village industries are featured. The missionaries were farmer boys and acquainted with South African agriculture. Consequently agriculture is not the small vegetable garden so frequently found in African missions but the thirty-acre wheat field, the even larger maize field, the cane field, orchard, flower and vegetable garden of a real farm. They have not fallen

⁵⁵ Schmidt, Rochus, "Deutschlands Kolonien," II, 285-6, 289.

⁵⁶ Lerz, Oskar, "Wanderungen in Afrika," pp. 100-1.

⁵⁷ Torday, E., "Camp and Tramp in African Wilds," pp. 39-40.

⁵⁸ Dominik, Hans, "Kamerun," p. 216.

⁵⁹ Eliot, Sir Chas., "The East African Protectorate," p. 242.

into the mistake of making agriculture more refined than the natives are able to carry out on their own land, but have aimed to set up something the aborigines can successfully imitate. The industries are of a practical home variety, not such as would compel the trained man to go to the city to get employment.⁶⁰ The American Methodist Episcopal Mission at Old Umtali, Southern Rhodesia, has likewise specialized in teaching the natives to help themselves. Education is thoroughly practical. The instructor of agricultural work is a first-rate farmer, and has taught the natives methods of irrigation, marketing and the like. A distinctive feature of this settlement is the Mothers' School where the women are instructed in household sanitation, infant care and hygiene, sewing and other simple domestic tasks.⁶¹

On general principles the value of industrial training for the backward races is indisputable. But an exception might be noted in Portuguese Africa where it does seem a doubtful kindness for the mission schools to make a skilful artisan of the negro under the present conditions of labor exploitation. It is more difficult to replace the skilled carpenter when his term is up than the hoe man; so that the government or planter retains him at forced labor with little or no remuneration. Ross mentions a skilled bridge-builder, an elderly Christian, who is so useful that the government keeps him on public work without rations and without pay for as long as five months at a time. More requisitions for labor are made upon native villages with schools than without. Hence parents are loath to send their boys to school where they would be taught a trade. Nor does the government give any great encouragement to the mission schools, for frequently children are forced to leave the institutions to care for the fields, their fathers and mothers being requisitioned for government work.⁶²

There is always the danger that large missions stressing industrial training will fall into the mistaken policy of isolating the natives or of placing them in reserves under the apprehension that thereby they are keeping the negroes away from evil influences. As a matter of fact, isolation inevitably confirms them in some of their old maladapted customs, and cuts them off from direct communication with superior races which might improve them.⁶³ Without freedom of contact stagnation results.

In favor of industrial missions of the non-isolating variety it must be

⁶⁰ Jones, T. J., "Education in East Africa," in the Report of the Second African Education Commission, Phelps-Stokes Fund, p. 212.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 246-7.

⁶² Ross, E. A., "Report on Employment of Native Labor in Portuguese Africa," pp. 16, 18.

⁶³ Eliot, Sir Chas., "The East African Protectorate," pp. 241-2.

pointed out that they afford training which civilizes the natives. With the gradual rise in the native standard of living new desires are created for the essentials of civilized life. This cannot help but change the character of trade. Spirituous liquors, firearms and worthless baubles are soon replaced as staples of commerce by a demand on the part of the native, now trained in sound habits of industry and husbandry, for tools and household utensils, woven cotton, leather goods and commodities of similar nature.⁶⁴ But the striking thing about this method of attack through the industrial mission is that no inexhaustible supply of capital is required. There is no longer a constant drain of missionary funds which go never to return while carrying a spiritual message only; the heathen is made to work out his own destiny by means of his own brain and training. Such a system is enduring.⁶⁵

It must not be thought, however, that the path is clear for educating the natives in industrial pursuits. The opposition, which frequently makes itself felt, comes mostly from the white colonists and is purely economic in nature. While the native did the manual toil and worked for the white man, the latter felt a kindly feeling for the black. But when it becomes increasingly apparent that in time the white man and his children will have to face the competition of industrially trained negroes who are accustomed to live on a lower plane, and are no longer content to work for the white man, but seek to develop their own economic independence on the farm and in the various trades, the one-time feeling of sympathy is changed to one of watchful anxiety. This feeling, although without economic foundation, is becoming quite general among the colonists,⁶⁶ and we see it reflected in the curtailment of funds and reduction in the number of schools for natives. Colonists vehemently argue that to give education to the negro is equivalent to giving notice to the white man to quit.⁶⁷

The increasing pressure exerted by the educated and well-trained native upon the artificial barrier raised by the white man, and which he is raising still higher, presents a very complicated problem and is a menace to both races. The white race is giving education, in some cases forcing

* MacDonald, A. J., "Trade, Politics and Christianity in Africa and the East," p. 122.

⁶⁴ Meyer, E. C., "Creating Social Values in the Tropics," in *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. XXI (1915-6), p. 665.

⁶⁵ Note: This is fundamentally the old "lump of labor" notion. They do not see that as the negro is brought into importance as a producer his wants and needs increase correspondingly and the public welfare, for whites and blacks alike, is enhanced.

⁶⁶ Evans, M. S., "Present Position of Native Affairs in the Union," in *Journal of the African Society*, vol. XII (1912-3), p. 350. Robertson, J. M., "The Tutelage of Races," in *Sociological Review*, vol. I (1908), p. 163.

education upon the aborigines, but when the latter attempt to attain the ideals thus dangled before them they find the door of opportunity barred and locked fast. The complaint usually heard on the lips of the educated West African negro is that there is a growing disposition to divide British subjects into two classes, viz: the European class, to whom there are being steadily reserved, under caste-bound conditions, all the superior appointments, and the non-European class, to whom all the inferior and poorly-paid appointments are assigned. This is irrespective of training or qualifications. Thus the Army Medical Service was once open to African doctors. Of 200 medical men engaged in West Africa (1912-13) only seven were natives, though numbers of young Africans have studied in European medical schools. Regulations now provide that to the "West African Medical Staff" none but men of pure English parentage may be appointed. This specifically excludes negroes or mulattoes regardless of whether or not they are better fitted than the white incumbents. It is the same with regard to other public posts. The present policy is described by an enlightened African as limiting the ambition and aspiration of the natives in the British colonies and protectorates, and discouraging the efforts calculated to make for progress, while helping to make a loyal people discontented.⁶⁸

In summing up the matter of native education it is quite clear in the light of actual experience that the majority of our educators have proceeded from the wrong angle. To their minds education consisted solely in the inculcation of academic knowledge and religion. The negro, living on a much lower cultural and economic plane than the white man, does not need to be fitted for the social drawing room or to make a niche for himself in the world of arts and letters. What he requires is an education of such a nature that he will be equipped to take his place in the modern industrial organization arising as a consequence of European civilization. This is the problem which industrial education for the native has attempted to solve, and the success of such training wherever tried, as well as the character of its products, leaves no doubt as to its value.

⁶⁸Buxton, T. F. M., "The Creole in West Africa," in *Journal of the African Society*, vol. XII (1912-3), pp. 388-9.

CHAPTER XXXI

POPULATION: SUMMARY ON AFRICA

The existence of so large a number of natives in Africa to-day seems to belie the fact that one of the important consequences of contact with civilization was a considerable depopulation of the aborigines. This has been going on for a long time; prior to the twentieth century it assumed great proportions, especially in those regions which were favorable to the white man; during the last generation or so it has not been so apparent. In the tropical regions, where the white race is not acclimatized and certainly cannot hope to be for generations to come, the negroes have held their own. It is in the tropics that European races have done the least in the way of changing the life conditions of the aborigines, and where contact has been least severe.

Ratzel thinks that the depopulation of Africa since the time of the earliest contact can be attributed principally to social influences, of which slavery and warfare are the most prominent. He further points out that smallpox, measles, consumption, influenza and other scourges which have proven so fatal to the Polynesians and North American Indians have never been as devastating in Africa.¹ Without subscribing entirely to Ratzel's view, it must be admitted that slavery, and then warfare, appear as outstanding causes of depopulation.

In French Congo depopulation has proceeded largely through slavery. It is exceptional to find villages of three hundred souls to-day.² When Stanley discovered the course of the Congo and observed its densely populated river banks he estimated that the population must approximate some forty millions. This certainly was an exaggeration for in the years following when that country was explored by travelers from various nations the estimates ranged uniformly between twenty and thirty millions, none falling below twenty. In 1911 an official census was taken and, although never published in Belgium, was quoted in one of the British consular reports. This revealed that only eight and a half million people were left. It would seem, therefore, that the Congo system which lasted only some

¹ Ratzel, Friedrich, "Völkerkunde," I, 673.

² Rondet-Saint, Maurice, "L'Afrique équatoriale française," p. 231.

twenty years or so was responsible for over ten million victims.³ This loss, of course, is made up in part by contributory causes. Under Congo State rule tribes most prone to killing and eating have been allowed to continue and to extend their cannibalism. Moreover, the Congo State has been most unscrupulous and reckless in training and arming the most warlike for fighting and slaughtering purposes of its own.⁴

Many of the once populous regions around the Katanga in Angola, for example, at Luba, Lamba, Lala and other places, as well as thickly populated corners of northeast and northwest Rhodesia, are thinly peopled to-day because of raids to procure slaves to supply the Angola markets.⁵ It must be remembered that such raids have been going on until comparatively recent times in Portuguese territory.

With respect to depopulation through the channels of slavery it has been estimated that fully 100,000 slaves reached the east coast yearly, and Livingstone and others considered that at least ten were killed or left to starve for each one who arrived. This gives about 1,000,000 per annum for East Africa alone, and if the rest of the continent is considered this number would have to be at least doubled.⁶

Contact with the culture races made intertribal warfare an important cause of depopulation. No matter how bloodthirsty the aborigines may have been, tribal warfare was never the serious engine of destruction which it became after the white man and the Arab introduced firearms among them. As described in the chapter on slavery, the slave trader, Arab or Caucasian, had no scruples about setting one tribe upon another and then turning upon the victors. The Masai, always warlike and dangerous, became more formidable once they acquired the white man's weapons. It was a Masai boast that where a party of *elmorani*⁷ had passed nothing of any kind was left alive; all the male defenders of a kraal were instantly put to death, while the women were murdered during the night with clubs.⁸ In the former German territorics the period of native wars which checked the natural growth of population was succeeded by the uprisings against the German government. These revolts were suppressed with enormous loss of life; the most serious of these, that of 1905-07, is recent enough for its results to be still visible throughout the southern districts which are largely depopulated. In Unyamwezi and

³ Morel, E. D., "The Black Man's Burden," p. 109.

⁴ Dowd, J., "The Negro Races," II, 227-8.

⁵ Campbell, Dugald, "In the Heart of Bantuland," p. 27.

⁶ Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," p. 355, note.

⁷ *Elmorani*—marauding band.

⁸ Patterson, Lieut. Col. J. H., "The Man-Eaters of Tsavo," pp. 234-5.

Usumbwa much of the loss in numbers may be attributed to labor emigration; the decrease in population owing to this cause amounted to about fourteen per cent. between 1910 and 1913. A similar emigration on a large scale is taking place in Portuguese East Africa, and on the Rhodesian and Belgian Congo borders of Angola.⁹ This, of course, is not sheer loss, but nevertheless plantation laborers have a much higher death rate and a lower birth rate than other portions of the population; consequently this produces a serious drain.¹⁰

The introduction of non-indigenous diseases is of the utmost importance in the decline of certain portions of the aboriginal population. To-day it stands out undoubtedly as the foremost cause of depopulation since slavery no longer exists on an extensive scale and, where permitted, is solely of the domestic variety. One of the most alarming problems is the rapid spread of syphilis accompanying increased association with civilized races. In Uganda syphilis is universal. As far as is known this disease did not exist in the country until communication was opened up with the Zanzibar coast lands and with the Sudan provinces of Egypt between 1850 and 1860. Although the disease may have existed before these dates, it is certain that it was introduced in a new and ravaging form about this time by the Arabs and Nubians. The kingdom of Uganda probably numbered some 4,000,000 people in Mtesa's time (about 1860) but in 1901 had little over 1,000,000. (Of course part of this loss must be attributed to bloodshed and debauchery, and not to disease alone.)¹¹

In the French Congo syphilis has proven most disastrous. It was brought into the country largely through the Senegalis and the whites and has been spread far and wide by the afflicted tribes. The M'Pongwes tribe of Libreville has declined to such an extent that there are but few young children to be seen to-day. The Ballallis were quite numerous when the French took control of the country; now they are almost extinguished. Only one tribe in French Equatorial Africa, the Pahouins, seem to hold their own and to be in the way of net increase.¹²

The main body of the Masai tribe has recently, with their own consent, been removed from the Rift Valley and the Naivasha country to a reserve in Laikipia. It is hoped that this removal from civilization and the proximity of the Uganda Railway may lessen the ravages of venereal dis-

⁹ Ross, E. A., "Report on Employment of Native Labor in Portuguese Africa," pp. 24, 53.

¹⁰ British Government Handbook no. 113, "Tanganyika" (German East Africa), pp. 21-2.

¹¹ Johnston, Sir H. H., "The Uganda Protectorate," II, 640.

¹² Rondet-Saint, Maurice, "L'Afrique équatoriale française," pp. 231-2.

ease and the wholesale prostitution of their women, which in these later days largely accounts for their decline and loss of virility.¹³ Smallpox and famine have also played an important part in reducing their numbers.¹⁴ Bennett noticed a great scarcity of old men among the Fang, which he attributed largely to the ravages of syphilis.¹⁵ The Hottentot tribes were nearly wiped out by a scourge of smallpox which spread like wildfire among them. The thorough sweep of the epidemic would seem to indicate that it was introduced by Europeans.¹⁶ Dysentery was unknown in Liberia until brought in by Dutch traders in 1626.¹⁷ Malarial fever and bad sanitation have been responsible for a very high infant mortality among the Wapokomos in British East Africa where less than one-half of the children reach maturity. Phthisis is very common, but no statistics are available to show whether it is more frequent among Christian natives than among those devoid of much contact. The Wapokomo are often referred to as a dying race.¹⁸

New living conditions and forms of labor to which the natives are unaccustomed account for a large loss of life. Thus the mining industry at Johannesburg supplies the worst possible conditions for the spread of tuberculosis among the Kafirs. The natives, owing to their close association with Europeans, are constantly exposed to infection. Their work is underground; they come up perspiring profusely and then sit in cotton blankets in the wind so as to cool off; such negligence makes them peculiarly susceptible to pulmonary complaints and to infection by tuberculosis. The situation is further complicated because the Kafirs are ignorant of the simplest rules of sanitation and expectorate freely, thus becoming a source of danger to themselves and to the white population. Natives suffering from tuberculosis return to their homes and spread the disease not only in their own but in neighboring kraals.¹⁹

The great demand for copra, used in the manufacture of varnish by European countries, has opened new fields of revenue for the natives, but at the same time has presented a new source of disease. Copra is found at the roots of trees in swampy, unhealthy country. In order to harvest it the natives are compelled to stand all day in water up to their hips, and

¹³ Wilson, Capt. H. A., "A British Borderland," pp. 273-4.

¹⁴ Patterson, Lieut. Col. J. H., "The Man-Eaters of Tsavo," p. 231.

¹⁵ Bennett, A. L., "Ethnographical Notes on the Fang," in J. A. I., vol. XXIX (1899), p. 70.

¹⁶ Theal, George M'C., "South Africa," p. 73.

¹⁷ Johnston, Sir H. H., "Liberia," p. 90.

¹⁸ Werner, Miss A., "The Wapokomo of the Tana Valley," in Journal of the African Society, vol. XII (1912-3), pp. 379-80.

¹⁹ Kidd, Dudley, "Kafir Socialism," p. 206.

they catch the inevitable colds from which pneumonia develops. Not alone do the men go forth, but the entire community treks to the marshes, and thus the lives of the women and children are menaced as well.²⁰

Contact with the white races has not only been responsible for the spread of new maladies among the aborigines but, conversely, has carried along with it in the form of knowledge and medical science the means of combating both imported and indigenous diseases. The native races know little or nothing of sanitation and care of the sick, and the extreme conservatism of many tribes makes them unreceptive to European medical aid. Thus the Wapokomo are quite impervious to the attempts of the missionaries to teach them rational methods of caring for children. The mothers are generally apathetic and if a child falls ill its mother makes up her mind that there is no hope and makes no further effort, awaiting the end in stolid resignation.

It frequently happens that old native customs have a most disastrous effect in spreading disease. The A-Kamba have preserved a good luck custom whereby both father and mother spit upon a new-born baby to bring it luck; it was also a general practice for friends to spit upon one another for luck. European contact, however, has tended to cause these habits to fall into desuetude, and to-day only a modified custom of spitting in the hands is found, but is not at all general.²¹ The Kafirs have come to learn the value of vaccination, though they naturally dislike submitting to any small operation at the hands of a white doctor. Kidd says that if some native doctor were to be worked upon by an anti-vaccination faddist the result might be deplorable, because it would be very easy to appeal to every particle of superstition and to the fear of the white man so as to get the natives to refuse to undergo vaccination.²² The Bakwains seem to have practised vaccination for smallpox on their own account before they came in either direct or indirect contact with the southern missionaries. In one village mentioned by Livingstone they seem to have selected a virulent case to procure the matter used in the operation, for nearly all the village was swept off by the disease in malignant confluent form. The Bakwains show no hesitancy in adopting the use of vaccine virus when brought within their reach by Europeans.²³

The chronic state of semi-starvation in which the negroes are forced to live as a result of excessive labor demands accounts in large part for depopulation in Portuguese Africa. Natives are often recruited at planting

²⁰ Marcossou, Isaac, "An African Adventure," p. 194.

²¹ Hobley, C. W., "The A-Kamba and Other East African Tribes," p. 61.

²² Kidd, Dudley, "Kafir Socialism," p. 208.

²³ Livingstone, D., "Travels and Researches in Africa," p. 142.

time which means no crops and a year of hunger for them. Frequently, in order to pay their taxes which fall due just before the crops mature, they are compelled to borrow of the trader at exorbitant rates to be repaid in corn; thus they lose a large part of their means of sustenance.²⁴

Before leaving the causes of decline among African peoples, a word must be added with respect to the adoption of European clothing. Here, especially in the tropical regions, we find the same situation as among the Polynesians. The natives either imitate European dress and consider it a mark of culture and distinction, or the missionaries place it before them as a moral problem and insist upon its use as a prerequisite to Christianity and to the blessings of civilization. Thus Miss Mason complains that the missionaries in the Transkei insist upon their converts' wearing European clothes; no boy can go to school unless he wears a shirt. As a sole garment it is quite senseless and inadequate for purposes of propriety. From the standpoint of hygiene it is positively harmful as the boy, who formerly had been exposed and accustomed to the weather, now wears his shirt under all climatic conditions without change. It is the same with the girls who are required to wear high frocks with long sleeves.²⁵ Traders as well as missionaries must share responsibility for these conditions. Among the Kafirs traders find the sale of cheap cotton blankets most lucrative, and the natives wear them now and then without regard to weather or need. These and other articles of European wear account for not a little of Kafir mortality.²⁶ Livingstone sanguinely asserts that as European dress is adopted by the aborigines a great many ailments which afflict the natives tend to disappear, such as inflammatory diseases, rheumatism and the like.²⁷

In concluding the matter of population it is interesting to note that in spite of the numerous factors producing depopulation, there is now a tendency toward net increase in some regions. Under the rule of the British South Africa Chartered Company the Karana now number something like 800,000 and the Amandebele about 150,000. Within these groups there has been a relatively large and steady natural increase since the rule of the Company has guaranteed and enforced peace in a territory which was formerly ruled over by a "tipsy, bloodthirsty Zulu chieftain." Portuguese South Africa is rather thickly populated by Bantu negroes.

²⁴ Ross, E. A., "Report on Employment of Native Labor in Portuguese Africa,"

p. 32.
²⁵ Mason, Miss M. H., "The Transkei," in *Royal Geographic Journal* (July, 1918).

p. 36.
²⁶ Kidd, Dudley, "Kafir Socialism," p. 210.

²⁷ Livingstone, D., "Travels and Researches in Africa," p. 143.

British Zululand and Natal number over 1,000,000 Zulus and Cape Colony contains some 2,000,000 Kafirs. Basutoland has shown a steady increase in population since the middle of the nineteenth century and now is inhabited by more than 500,000 natives.²⁸

The net increase occurs particularly among the negroes proper and Bantus as may be noticed from the above statement. This indicates that both these race groups must be very strong and prolific, especially when one considers that these negroes suffered most heavily under slavery. The killing of Bantus, both by themselves and by the Caucasian, was appalling, but they have not died out before the white man, and now that they enjoy a stable government are said to be multiplying faster than the Europeans. The African races in general seem to be of much stronger physique and to offer more promise for the future than the primitive peoples to be found in America, Australia, or the Pacific Islands.²⁹

SUMMARY OF RACE CONTACT IN AFRICA

Of all parts of the modern world where race contact between civilized and uncivilized has occurred or is now taking place Africa presents that phenomenon under the most varied conditions. Thus, while some regions of Africa are suitable in the highest degree to white settlement, others are located in the tropics where the seat of a numerous and permanent Caucasian population is quite inconceivable for ages to come. Moreover, the African tribes themselves represent various stages of economic development ranging from the most primitive hunting economy to relatively advanced agricultural states.

Let us now recapitulate the outstanding effects of race contact as observed in Africa. Although the presence of the European has produced a marked change upon the social and economic foundations of native society, there has been no complete alteration in the natural environment as resulted from the extensive white immigration into America and Australasia. Commercial intercourse with the whites served to break down the primitive forms of exchange, such as reciprocal gifts, silent trade and simple barter, and made apparent to the aborigines the advantages of a money economy. As is the case with other primitive peoples, the African has the greatest difficulty in comprehending that time and location affect the value of native commodities which he has to sell, and of imported goods

²⁸ Jones, T. J., "Education in East Africa," in the Report of the Second African Education Commission, Phelps-Stokes Fund, p. 270. Johnston, Sir H. H., "The Backward Peoples and Our Relations with Them," pp. 32-3. Note: Johnston gives the population of Basutoland as over 600,000.

²⁹ Lucas, Sir Chas., "The Partition and Colonization of Africa," pp. 30-1.

which he desires to buy. The notion of world markets and of the industrial and economic factors which influence price are incomprehensible to him. We have also noted in Africa the evolution of the concept of public revenue, taxes and customs evolving from the practice of giving presents as a bribe or to appease the wrath of the chief or of the ancestors. With the advent of the trader, whose life and property were at the mercy of the chief, this voluntary procedure became crystallized into customary fees for the right of passage and levies upon goods transported. That feeling of loyalty and respect for the mores of the native group with consequent protection to fellow-members and disdain for the rights of outsiders, which has already been observed among the Pacific Islanders and the American Indians, is likewise characteristic of the negro.

One of the outstanding features of African life was the institution of slavery which existed in a domestic form long before the coming of the European. The peculiar qualities of the negro—strength, docility, cheerfulness, short memory for sorrows and cruelty, and lack of race feeling—made possible an extension of human servitude, once European contact had taken place and a demand for slaves had been created by plantations in America and later in Africa itself. Thus white contact was largely responsible for the horrors of that most fatal and destructive force which undermined the social and political life of the natives, devastated enormous areas and spread disease and famine among the aborigines. When the code of the civilized world no longer tolerated slavery as such, the white colonists in Africa resorted to forced labor of the negro in many forms and under various disguises to satisfy the need of an adequate native labor supply.

Although the African experienced many material gains as a result of association with the white man, the very presence of a superior culture so modified the conditions of life that more rapid adjustments were necessitated than the natives were capable of making. Consequently the negroes suffered innumerable maladaptations which overbalanced the advantages of contact and the net result may truly be said to have intensified life's struggle as far as the black man is concerned. Foremost among these factors was the loss of territory suffered by the primitive hunter, the nomad or the early agriculturalist, who depended upon an extensive utilization of land in varying degrees for sustenance. The conservative nature of the negro and his veneration for the ways of the ancestors hindered the voluntary adoption of alterations called for by the presence of an alien culture; and the introduction of distilled spirits and firearms among a people so lacking in moral restraint and foresight has had woeful conse-

quences. Moreover, the competition of European products manufactured under modern industrial conditions is inevitably destroying the old native arts and industries.

The unforeseen consequence of European interference in the primitive land system, prohibitions upon native customs and limitations of the chief's power, was the disintegration of the social and political structures. Miscegenation, together with the spread of education, the assimilation of European mores and the disdain of the young for the ways of the ancestors, may also be recalled as contributing factors to this decline. The difficulties of native administration and control have led to a number of successful experiments in Africa whereby the colonial powers recognize such native customary law as is not inconsistent with the European code, and govern indirectly through the native political organization where such has been preserved.

Unlike the French and Spanish ecclesiastics in America, the missionaries in Africa have made but few appeals to the economic order of native life. They have hurriedly set to work to make immediate changes in the more derived institutions of the negro. Thus native beliefs, forms of marriage and the family and other societal customs were attacked simultaneously, the clergy scarcely lifting a finger to alter the primary economic conditions of life in such a way as would make of their proposed reforms natural adaptations. To a considerable extent the effectiveness of Christianity has been negated by denominational squabbles and by the competition of Mohammedanism, which is said to be the most readily acceptable faith for the mentally undeveloped races. The Koran lays down a code for the whole of life, temporal and spiritual, whereas Christianity presents bewildering and apparently contradictory differences between the law of God and the law of man. In educational work both lay and ecclesiastical teachers have sought to cram the heads of their pupils with academic knowledge and Christian dogma, both adapted to the life conditions of a highly developed society, but of no practical value to the uncultured black. The greatest success has been attained through those agencies which have endeavored to equip the negro to take his place in the new economic environment which is growing up about him with the presence of western culture.

As we have already observed, the evidence does not support the view that the negro race is destined to die out before the sweeping march of European civilization as so often appears to be the case with other primitive peoples. In the early days of contact the introduction of firearms and the extension of slavery, and later, changed living conditions resulting in

labor in the mines and copra gathering in the swamps account for an enormous toll of life. The decimation process has been further aggravated by the spread of the white man's diseases. The outlook to-day is, however, much more favorable to the African. This is indicated by the fact that the negroes proper and the Bantus tend to show a net increase in numbers. The African peoples, in general, seem to be of much stronger physique, less susceptible to disease, and show a greater capacity of adaptation to changing life conditions than do the other primitive races which we have considered. Our study of the native tribes of Africa further substantiates the view that the ease with which the civilized peoples supplant the primitive races varies inversely with the height of native culture. It is also important to bear in mind that the Africans are protected to a considerable extent by climatic isolation. This explains the apparently contradictory fact that many African tribes of inferior culture have survived, whereas more highly cultured societies in America quickly perished before the steady advance of the white man.

CHAPTER XXXII

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it is evident that our study of the consequences of association between the civilized and uncivilized races embraces a very important phase of societal evolution. On the one hand, we are treating with peoples of varied degrees of cultural development, ranging from the Australians living in a very primitive era of the stone age to the more progressive of the African tribes who had already attained to the use of iron. On the other hand, we have the highly civilized nations of Europe suddenly entering into close relationship with the native races and thrusting upon them a culture far in advance of their own. Consequently within a few hundred years the latter have been forced through an evolution process which took innumerable centuries for the white man to accomplish. The fact that the untrained savages have been unable to adapt themselves to such rapid changes in their life conditions is at the root of the ever troublesome "native question."

Contact between race groups of such wide cultural differences is essentially a modern phenomenon. The ancients never faced the same problems in their colonization projects as confront the colonizing nations of to-day. If the early civilized powers—Phoenicians, Greeks, Carthaginians and Romans—appear to have elevated the less advanced races with greater success than the modern cultural races have done, it is largely owing to the fact that the problem was presented to them in a form more easily soluble.

This fact may be readily accounted for. First of all, there existed but few contrasts of great significance among the races which were brought into contact around the border of the Mediterranean. There was no great difference in the various race groups, most of them belonging to the same or similar ethnic strains. Thus the color line did not arise to hinder assimilation and complicate matters. Moreover, there were no impassable or discouraging chasms between the lower and the higher cultures, for the civilized races of antiquity had not outdistanced their savage neighbors to the same extent as have the civilized powers of to-day. Invention and technique did not afford the great disparity in tools, weapons and modes of warfare as now occurs; consequently the uncivilized races were not

placed at such a great disadvantage and possessed a better chance of survival. Another difference is evident in the fact that the earlier colonizing powers rarely settled outside of their native climatic zone, this accounting for the absence of a "lower" race, or viewed from another angle, the absence of the need itself for an acclimatized labor force.¹ It should also be remembered that in Greek and Roman days there was no rapidly advancing frontier resulting in the absorption of territory, the driving away of the natives and the destruction of their means of subsistence.

A further reason for the less disastrous consequences of contact between the advanced races of the past and their uncultured neighbors is that the former were generally tolerant of the mores and customs of their subject groups. Indeed, to such an extent was this forbearance carried by the Phœnicians that they virtually sacrificed their own national individuality; and subsequent history offers no parallel to their success in the dissemination of culture. In fact, pursuing a radically different policy from modern European nations, the operations of these ancient peoples resulted in focusing their efforts at "civilizing" the backward races in the only logical and effective field, that of the industrial organization where progress and transformation are always welcome. Thus, wherever practicable, Rome pursued a policy of non-intervention in the local customs of marriage, religion and morals followed by her provincials. Even admitting that there was a less marked accentuation of differences among the ancients in the above derived societal forms, the fact remains that both Phœnicians and Romans went out of their way to placate their subjects by conforming to native ideas in all these matters.²

And finally, in contrast to the wasting away of savage races before the sweep of modern civilization, we find a natural persistence and survival of the uncivilized races in contact with the ancient culture groups.³ The explanation seems to lie in the fact that civilized and uncivilized were of the same or similar ethnic strains; both lived under the same climatic conditions and were subject to the same diseases. Survival was a matter of natural selection in every case; the civilized peoples possessed no tendencies toward natural immunity to disease not characteristic of the backward races, nor did they enjoy the artificial immunities which modern medical science has made possible. And again, we of later ages have carried into the simple existence of the uncivilized races the nervous

¹ Keller, A. G., "Colonization," p. 70. Cf. Huntington, E., "Civilization and Climate," p. 41.

² Keller, A. G., "A Sociological View of the Native Question," in the *Yale Review*, vol. XII (Nov., 1903), p. 263.

³ Bagehot, W., "Physics and Politics," pp. 47-8.

unrest of our commercial life, the hurried pursuit of gain, our destructive pleasures, our religious wrangles and animosities, and an overbearing intolerance of the usages and customs of the aborigines. Our perfected implements relieved them suddenly of an immense burden of labor; what had been accomplished in months with stone hatchets was now performed with iron tools in a few hours. Therewith fell away the beneficent tension in which the old method of work had continuously kept the body and mind of primitive man.⁴

Race contact, as we have repeatedly observed, is essentially economic in nature:

"It somehow shocks the sense of fairness of hard-headed white or yellow people that semi-savages should be driving ill-bred sheep, scraggy cattle or ponies hardly fit for polo over plains and mountains that are little else than great treasure-vaults of valuable minerals and chemicals; or that they should roam with their blow-pipes and bows and arrows through forests of inestimable value for their timber, drugs, dyes, latices, gums, oil-seeds, nuts or fruits; be turning this waiting wealth to no use, not allowing it to circulate in the world's markets."⁵

The primitive races cannot develop their natural habitat; and modern civilization will not suffer the vast resources of some of the richest regions of the earth to go to waste, merely because the colored races do not possess those elementary qualities of social efficiency necessary for economic promotion. Thus the only practical solution is that which has evolved during the past three or four hundred years, but particularly during the latter part of the nineteenth century, namely, that the backward races must be placed under the tutelage of the civilized powers and by them prepared to take a place in the modern industrial world.

This method is equivalent to a grand case of selection in the mores of the backward groups. As a matter of fact, however, the selection is not left to the native races; civilization regards them as passive agents and the advanced races proceed to prescribe for them such mores and customs as are deemed suitable, and to proscribe others that do not appeal to the civilized taste. In other words, the civilized world is attempting to put its uncultured neighbor through a hot-house course of evolution, the effects of which have been noted in the disintegration of the native social system, the destruction of the native political organization, and the count-

⁴ Bucher, Carl, "Industrial Evolution," p. 82.

⁵ Johnston, Sir H. H., "The Backward Peoples and Our Relations with Them," p. 59.

less ways in which the savage has fallen back in his struggle for existence as a result of the sudden changes in his natural environment and life conditions.

The less the gap between the culture of the advanced and backward races, the easier it is for satisfactory adjustments to be made. This is evident in that those primitive peoples who had attained a well developed agricultural economy suffered less than the nomadic and pastoral groups, and the latter in turn were more fortunate than the hunting tribes. Similarly, the more highly developed the political organization, the greater the resistance to the encroachment of outside powers. It must also be added that wherever climatic and environmental conditions are unfavorable to white settlement the chances of survival for the primitive race are considerably increased. Thus the native races inhabiting tropical regions, though perhaps lacking the energy of their brethren in the temperate zones, have held their own numerically while the latter have been able to put up only a losing fight at the best.

A résumé of race contact between groups of widely divergent cultures cannot help but suggest a few pertinent generalizations concerning the welfare of the subject peoples. Sweeping reforms in religion and morals must be preceded by radical alterations in the economic environment which shall ease rather than intensify the local form of the struggle for existence. A higher civilization is rendered possible only by the more perfect organization of industry and trade, for otherwise the irresistible call of animal wants will lead inevitably to perversion of the artificially induced culture.⁶

It is thus evident that the disciples of civilization must begin their work in the industrial organization and gradually, and with many periods of regression, work up to a remodeling of the entire social structure. The gradual assimilation of European culture is bound to take place, and the native is better off if he is allowed to make his own adjustments as the need arises; forced acceptance of a new culture only breeds maladaptations. The extension of facilities for the education of younger generations, primarily in the economic field for self-maintenance, hastens the natural assimilation of European mores. Until the colonizing powers recognize the fact that they are dealing with habits and institutions from which our civilization is separated by a long interval of development, and where progress must be a long, slow process proceeding on native lines, the sur-

⁶ Keller, A. G., "A Sociological View of the Native Question," in the *Yale Review*, vol. XII (Nov., 1903), p. 272.

vival or extinction of the primitive races must depend solely upon their capacity for ready adaptation to new life conditions created by contact with a higher culture.

Moreover, in the light of recent experience, the fact is forcibly impressed upon the mind that toleration is the keynote to successful relations with the backward races. Any skilful manipulation, any attempt to elevate the savage's cultural plane—regardless of what the intent may be, whether religious instruction, political control, or other purpose—requires patience and forbearance for the ways of the native. Such an attitude can only be brought about by a thorough and complete understanding of the mores and customs of the native peoples. It must also be borne in mind that the habits and manners of these primitive folk are not the result of idiotic dreams but really constitute a code representing the best adjustments the people were capable of making under the circumstances. When the colonial powers realize this, cease to treat their charges with contempt, and act toward them with that spirit of give-and-take which prevails among civilized societies, the native question will to a large extent have been solved.

APPENDIX

COMPLAINTS OF DELAWARE AND SHAWNEE INDIANS AGAINST THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC

"As Matters of Land were passed over almost in Silence, so likewise were the Indians Complaints regarding our Traders. No Notice is taken of them but in the Speech which Mr. Logan the President afterwards made to them. Nor should we have known they complained had he not mentioned it. 'You have desired us,' says he 'to recall all our Traders from the Ohio or Allegheny and the Branches of Susquehannah, but we know not what you mean by our recalling our Traders; you are sensible the Indians cannot live without being supplied with our Goods; they must have Powder and Lead to hunt, and Cloaths to keep them warm, and if our People do not carry them, others will from Virginia, Maryland, Jerseys, and other places, and we are sure you do not desire that Indians should trade with those People rather than with ours. The Traders of all Nations find the Indians are so universally fond of Rum that they will not deal without. We have made many Laws against carrying it; we have ordered the Indians to stave the Cags of all that is brought amongst them, but the Woods have not Streets like Philadelphia, the Paths in them are endless that they cannot be stopt, so that it will be carried from one Country or another.' 'If,' replied the Indians, 'the Woods are dark, and it is impossible to prevent Rum being carried to Allegheny, you had better hinder any Persons going thither at all, and confine your Traders to the River Susquehannah, and its Branches; for as several Indian Warriors pass by Allegheny, where so much Rum is constantly to be had, we are apprehensive some Mischief may happen, and this Consideration often troubles us.' In answer to this the Indians were told that the Traders could not be prevented from going where they might best dispose of their Goods; that the most proper Measures in our Power should be taken to hinder their carrying Rum in such Quantities, and it was hoped the Indians would give strict Charge to the Warriors to be cautious and prudent that all Kind of Mischief might be prevented."¹

WALK MADE BETWEEN PROPRIETORS OF PENNSYLVANIA AND DELAWARE INDIANS

The Relation which Thomas Furniss, Sadler, gives concerning the Day and half's Walk made between the Proprietors of Pennsylvania and the Delaware Indians, by James Yeates and Edward Marshall.

"When the Walkers and the Company started I was a little behind, but was informed they proceeded from a Chestnut Tree near the Turning out of the

¹ Thomson, Chas., "Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians," pp. 31-2.

Road from Durham Road to John Chapman's, and being on Horse-back, overtook them before they reach'd Buckingham, and kept Company for some Distance beyond the blue Mountains, tho' not quite to the End of the Journey. Two Indians attended, whom I considered as Deputies appointed by the Delaware Nation, to see the Walk honestly performed; one of them repeatedly expressed his Dissatisfaction therewith. The first Day of the Walk, before we reach'd Durham Creek, where we dined in the Meadows of one Wilson an Indian Trader, the Indian said the Walk was to have been made up the River, and complaining of the unfitness of his Shoe-packs for Travelling, said he expected Thomas Penn would have made him a Present of some Shoes. After this some of us that had Horses walked and let the Indians ride by Turns, yet in the Afternoon of the same Day, and some Hours before Sun-set, the Indians left us, having often called to Marshall that Afternoon and forbid him to run. At parting they appeared dissatisfied, and said they would go no further with us: for, as they saw the Walkers would pass all the good Land, they did not care how far or where we went to. It was said we travelled twelve Hours the first Day, and, it being in the latter End of September, or Beginning of October, to compleat the Time, were obliged to walk in the Twilight. Timothy Smith, then Sheriff of Bucks, held his Watch in his Hand for some Minutes before we stopt, and the Walkers having a Piece of rising Ground to ascend, he called out to them, telling the Minutes behind, and bid them pull up, which they did so briskly, that, immediately upon his saying the Time was out, Marshall Clasp'd his Arms about a Saplin to support himself, and thereupon the Sheriff asking him what was the Matter, he said he was almost gone, and that, if he had proceeded a few Poles further, he must have fallen. . . . And indeed the Unfairness practised in the Walk, both in regard to the Way where, and Manner how, it was performed, and the Dissatisfaction of the Indians concerning it, were the common Subjects of Conversation in our Neighborhood for some considerable Time after it was done."

Joseph Knowles' Account of the Walk is as follows:

"June 30th, 1757, I Joseph Knowles, living with Timothy Smith at the Time of the Day and half's Walk with the Indians (Timothy Smith then Sheriff for Buck's County) do say, that I went some Time before to carry the Chain, and help to clear a Road, as directed by my Uncle Timothy Smith. When the Walk was performed I was then present, and carried Provisions, Liquors and Bedding. About Sun-rising we set out from John Chapman's Corner at Wrights-Town, and travelled until we came to the Fork of Delaware, as near as I can remember about one of the Clock the same Day. The Indians then began to look sullen, and murmured that the Men walked so fast, and several Times that Afternoon called out, and said to them, You run; that's not fair, you was to walk. The Men appointed to walk paid no Regard to the Indians, but were urged by Timothy Smith, and the rest of the Proprietor's Party, to proceed until the Sun was down. We were near the Indian Town in the Forks: The Indians denied us going to the Town on Excuse of a Cantico. We lodged in the Woods that Night. Next Morning, being dull rainy Weather,

we set out by the Watches, and two of the three Indians, that walked the Day before, came and travelled with us about two or three Miles, and then left us, being very much dissatisfied, and we proceeded by the Watches until Noon. The above I am willing to qualify to any Time when desired. Witness my Hand the Day and Year above said.

"Jos. Knowles."*

WINTHROP'S JUSTIFICATION FOR APPROPRIATING NATIVE LANDS

"That which is common to all is proper to none. This savage people ruleth over many lands without title or property; for they inclose no ground, neither have they cattell to maintayne it, but remove their dwellings as they have occasion, or as they can prevail against their neighbors. And why may not christians have liberty to go and dwell amongst them in their waste lands and woods (leaving them such places as they have manured for their corne) as lawfully as Abraham did among the Sodomites? For God hath given to the sons of men a two-fould right to the earth; there is a naturall right and a civil right. The first right was naturall when men held the earth in common, every man sowing and feeding where he pleased; Then, as men and cattell increased, they appropriated some parcells of ground by enclosing and peculiar manurance, and this in tyme got them a civil right. Such was the right which Ephron the Hittite had to the field of Machpelah, wherein Abraham could not bury a dead corpse without leave, though for the out parts of the country which lay common, he dwelt upon them and tooke the fruite of them at his pleasure. This appears also in Jacob and his sons, who fedd their flocks as bouldly in the Canaanites land, for he is said to be lord of the country; and at Dotham and all other places men accounted nothing their owne, but that which they had appropriated by their own industry, as appears plainly by Abimelech's servants, who in their own countrey did often contend with Isaac's servants about wells which they had digged; but never about the land which they occupied. So likewise betweene Jacob and Laban; he would not take a kidd of Laban's without special contract: but he makes no bargaine with him for the land where he fedd. And it is probable that if the countrey had not been as free for Jacob as for Laban, that covetous wretch would have made his advantage of him, and have upbraided Jacob with it as he did with the rest. 2dly, There is more than enough for them and us. 3dly, God hath consumed the natives with a miraculous plague, whereby the greater part of the countrey is left voide of inhabitants. 4thly, We shall come in with the good leave of the natives."*

SIOUX CHIEF'S VIEW OF CIVILIZED MORES

"On an occasion when I had interrogated a Sioux chief, on the Upper Missouri, about their Government—their punishments and tortures of prisoners, for which I had freely condemned them for the cruelty of the practice, he took

* Thomson, Chas., "Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians," pp. 36-40.

* Quoted by Thomas, C., "Massachusetts' Policy Toward the Indians," in 18th Annual Report, B. A. E., (1896-7), pt. II, 603-4.

occasion when I had got through to ask *me* some questions relative to modes in the *civilized world*, which, with his comments upon them, were nearly as follow; and struck me as I think they must every one, with great force.

"Among white people, nobody ever take your wife—take your children—take your mother, cut off nose—cut eyes out—burn to death?" No! 'Then *you* no cut off nose—*you* no cut out eyes—*you* no burn to death—very good.'

"He also told me he had often heard that white people hung their criminals by the neck and choked them to death like dogs, and those their own people; to which I answered, 'yes.' He then told me he had learned that they shut each other up in prisons, where they keep them a great part of their lives *because they can't pay money!* I replied in the affirmative to this, which occasioned great surprise and excessive laughter, even amongst the women. He told me that he had been to our Fort, at Council Bluffs, where we had a great many warriors and braves, and he saw three of them taken out on the prairies and tied to a post and whipped almost to death, and he had been told they they submit to all this to get a little money, 'yes.' He said he had been told, that when all the white people were born, their white *medicine-men* had to stand by and look on—that in the Indian country the women would not allow that—they would be ashamed—that he had been along the Frontier, and a good deal amongst the white people, and he had seen them whip their little children—a thing that is very cruel—he had heard also, from several white *medicine-men*, that the Great Spirit of the white people was the child of a white woman, and that he was at last put to death by the white people! This seemed to be a thing that he had not been able to comprehend, and he concluded by saying, 'the Indians' Great Spirit got no mother—the Indians no kill him, he never die.' He put me a chapter of other questions, as to the trespasses of the white people on their lands—their continual corruption of the morals of their women—and digging open the Indians' graves to get their bones, etc."*

INDIAN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES

The Government, according to the law of nations, having jurisdiction over the Indian territory, and the exclusive right to dispose of its soil, the whole Indian population is reduced, of necessary consequence, to a dependent situation. They are without the privileges of self-government, except in a limited degree, and without any transferable property. They are ignorant of nearly all the useful branches of human knowledge, of the Bible, and of the only Savior of men therein revealed. They are weak and ready to perish; we are strong, and with the help of God, able to support, to comfort, and to save them. In these circumstances the Indians have claims on us of high importance to them and to our own character and reputation as an enlightened, just, and Christian Nation. In return for what they virtually yield, they are undoubtedly entitled to expect from our honor and justice protection in all the rights which they are permitted to retain. They are entitled, as "children" of the Government, for so we call them, peculiarly related to it, to kind paternal treatment, to justice

* Catlin, George, "North American Indians," II, 241.

in all our dealings with them, to education in the useful arts and sciences, and in the principles and duties of our religion. In a word, they have a right to expect and to receive from our civil and religious communities combined that sort of education, in all its branches, which we are accustomed to give to the minority of our own population, and thus to be raised gradually and ultimately to the rank and to the enjoyment of all the rights and privileges of freemen and citizens of the United States.

As the Government assumes the guardianship of the Indians, and in this relation provides for their proper education, provision also should be made for the exercise of a suitable government and control over them. This government unquestionably should be in its nature parental—absolute, kind, and mild, such as may be created by a wise union of a well-selected military establishment, and an education family. The one possessing the power, the other the softening and qualifying influence, both combined would constitute, to all the purposes requisite, the parental or guardian authority.^a

PROCEDURE WHEN MAORIS SELL LANDS

The Court sits for the individualising of the native titles, and the whole tribe comes in—men, women, and children—to substantiate their joint ownership in the block that is to be disposed of. This done to the satisfaction of the native land court judge, upon whose decision rests the individualisation of the titles, the next stage in the process of acquisition is that a Government agent assembles the owners together and pays each the portion of money to which he or she may be entitled. The distribution is made, and then the licensed houses in the neighborhood reap a golden harvest. The common bar and every available apartment is crowded with natives of all ages and sexes. For days together scenes of revelry are continued. They are supplied with liquor of the worst sort, and even whole cases of so-called champagne are consumed; for the inebriated Maori, in his innocence, is easily imposed on. He has seen Europeans drinking champagne in some of the larger townships he has visited, and having the money in his pocket, he readily parts with it, and likes to imitate European practices. In this way matters go on for days and nights at a stretch; the public-house is one continuous scene of drinking and uproar, and the general bout only terminates when most of the Maoris discover that they have no more money to spend. Then they return to their settlements minus their land and with empty pockets besides; and the same scene is renewed whenever they have another strip of their possessions to pass through the native land court.^a

PAPUAN LAND POLICY

The purchase of land from the Papuans is generally carried out by special officers known as land buyers. They purchase the land that has already been

^a Report made to the Secretary of War under the direction of President Monroe. (Quoted in Snow, Alpheus H., "The Question of the Aborigines," p. 31.)

^a Grey, J. Grattan, "Australasia, Old and New," p. 275.

applied for, as well as other land that is suitable for settlement, thus minimizing delay in dealing with fresh applications. Private individuals are precluded from dealing in land with the natives. The Government must first acquire the land and can then lease it to applicants for any period not exceeding ninety-nine years.

Should the land selected by the applicant still be in the hands of natives, two questions arise: Will the owners sell? And secondly, ought they be allowed to sell? If either question is answered in the negative the applicant cannot get his land.*

TREATY OF WAITANGI BETWEEN ENGLAND AND THE ABORIGINES OF NEW
ZEALAND RESPECTING PROPERTY RIGHTS OF NATIVES

"Article the First.

"The Chiefs of the Confederation of the united tribes of New Zealand and the separate and independent Chiefs who have not become members of the Confederation, cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England absolutely and without reservation all the rights and powers of Sovereignty which the said Confederation or individual Chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or possess, over their respective territories, as the sole Sovereign thereof.

"Article the Second.

"Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs and tribes of New Zealand and to the respective families and individuals thereof the full, exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries, and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession; but the Chiefs of the united tribes and the individual Chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of pre-emption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate at such price as may be agreed upon between the respective proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.

"Article the Third.

"In consideration thereof Her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the natives of New Zealand her Royal Protection, and imparts to them all the rights and privileges of British subjects.

"W. Hobson,
"Lieut.-Governor." "

* Murray, J. H. P., "Papua or British New Guinea," pp. 342-3.

* Grey, J. Grattan, "Australasia, Old and New," p. 241-2.

FRENCH LAND POLICY IN NEW CALEDONIA

"From the first, the French authorities paid no attention to any rights which the natives, called by the generic term of *Canaque*, might be presumed to have in the soil."

The natives located their villages in the valleys which run between the spurs of the mountain range. The arable land was well used—fields of taros and of yams, and plantations of bananas were carefully tilled. "The French authorities seized the most fertile valleys, on which they planted *pénitencière agricoles*, or leased them to free colonists employed in cattle-raising; and in some parts, cultivating sugar and coffee. In every case the natives were treated—as too often the natives of Australia have been—as *ferac naturae*, having no personal right in the land. French colonists tore down the fences which the Canaques had raised to protect their crops; and an English settler boasted to me that he was humane, in that he allowed the natives to take up the yams they had planted, before clearing them off the land, which he had leased from the Government, but on which they had lived for years in established villages."*

(Note: Here we have agriculture affording no survival value in race contact.)

REGULATION OF ENLISTMENT AND RECRUITING IN PAPUA

Every recruit must be taken before a Government officer whose duty is to explain to the native the terms of the proposed agreement or contract of service. No native can be "signed on" until the official is satisfied of the following conditions:

- (1) That fair remuneration is offered and will be duly paid.
 - (2) That the native is willing to enter into the contract of service.
 - (3) That there is no reason to suspect that the native will be unfairly treated.
 - (4) That there is no reason to suspect that the native will not, at the expiration of the contract of service, be returned to his home by the employer.
- If the native changes his mind, or if the officer is not satisfied on all of the above points, the recruiter must take him home again.

It is further provided that a native may work for an employer for three months without "signing on." In no event can he be signed for more than three years; in the case of miners and carriers, for more than eighteen months. The usual term is for one year at a wage of 10 s. per month, in addition to food, tobacco and necessities. At the end of the term the employer is required to bring the native before the Government officer and publicly pay him for the whole term, with no deductions for advances given to him during service. Wages must be paid in coin, and it is incumbent upon the Government

* Thomas, Julian, "Cannibals and Convicts," p. 47.

officials to see that the Papuans get fair value for their money, and that their purchases are safely landed in their native village.³⁰

FRENCH REGULATION OF LABOR IN NEW CALEDONIA

The law provided that engagements must not be for more than three years. All particulars must be inserted in two books, the *Livret d'engagé* and the *Bulletin d'immatriculation*. Each contained the number, name, place of birth, age and personal description of the indentured servant, and the particulars as to what the employer agreed to furnish. The first three items specified were lodging, medical care, and interment. Afterwards the rations were enumerated, which at the discretion of the employer included biscuit, maize, rice, yams, taro, fresh and salt fish and meat, vegetables and salt. Further, the employer was required to furnish yearly to the males two shirts, two pairs of pants, and two handkerchiefs; to the females two chemises, two gowns and four handkerchiefs.

The minimum monthly wages were fixed by the Government as follows: Boys and girls under 14 years, 6 f. per month; under 17 years, boys 9 f., girls 7½ f.; 18 years and over, males 12 f., females 9 f. Payments were to be made quarterly. These rates are nearly equivalent to the Queensland labor tariff of £6 per year and double that of Fiji. The official documents in New Caledonia also contained spaces in which the nature of the work, the daily hours of labor, and the hours of repose were supposed to be specified, but these were seldom filled up.³¹

BRITISH LABOR POLICY IN TROPICAL AFRICA

(a) "Natives may be required to perform certain paid labour for the Government . . . (viz.) works of a public nature, subject to the express proviso that no native shall be required to perform such work for more than sixty days in any one year, and that any native who is fully employed in any other occupation, or has been so employed during the preceding twelve months for a period of three months shall be exempted from such labour." Works of a public nature are defined in the ordinance as work on government transport, or on roads and railways, "and other work of a public nature, whether of a like kind to the foregoing or not." The three months includes, of course, any work on his own account.

(b) That natives in their own interests should seek outside employment when not engaged in work in their own reserves, and it is desirable that the young able-bodied men should become wage-earners, and should not remain idle in the reserves for a large part of the year.

(c) That "the Protectorate Government would be failing in its duty if it did not use all lawful and reasonable means to encourage the supply of labour for the settlers" engaged in the production of raw material much needed by the Empire.

³⁰ Murray, J. H. P., "Papua or British New Guinea," pp. 349-50.

³¹ Thomas, Julian, "Cannibals and Convicts," p. 149.

(d) That for this purpose the principle of working through the native chiefs is right, but they must be closely watched by government officials. On the one hand, any attempt to abuse their authority must be promptly checked, and on the other hand, "any unwillingness to act on instructions must be taken note of and recorded."

(e) That native labour shall not be procured by the government for a particular employer, and "the native is free to choose where and for whom he will work."

(f) That women and children may be employed, but "must return to their houses at night, and that only when the husband is employed, and living in the plantation should his family be permitted to remain there at night." It is inferred that their labour will be light—chiefly coffee-picking, and for half a day only.

(g) Finally, there is no objection to recruiting from an adjoining British administration (whether under Mandate or not), provided there is a surplus of labour over and above that required in the territory itself. Recruits may bring their wives with them.

In speaking of the difficulties of the application of the government labor policy, Lugard says:

"Then again there is the vital question—at what time of the year is the compulsory labour to be called for? If at the season when the native crops demand attention, the hardship may be great, and result in a reduction of the native food supply. If, as stated, it is to be demanded by Government from the more distant tribes, leaving the remainder for private labour, is the time taken in coming from and returning to these remote districts to be counted in the sixty days to be paid for? If so, there will be little margin for work. We are told, moreover, that the great variations in climate, and the different diet of tribes, cause much sickness and mortality when labour is transferred from its natural environment. Age-limits for labourers are difficult to determine; medical examination for fitness is impracticable in areas so great, with a small medical staff overwhelmed with work, and the supervision of the District Officer is, we are told, negligible for the same reason."²²

GROWTH OF LIQUOR TRADE IN AFRICA

Southern Nigeria

1908	3,235,000 gallons	1911	4,835,000 gallons
1909	2,950,000 "	1912	4,450,000 "
1910	4,748,000 "	1913	4,635,000 "

In 1904 the importation was 3,190,000 gallons. The increase for the ten years has thus been 45 per cent.

²²Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," pp. 392-3, 395.

Gold Coast

1907	1,208,000 gallons	1910	1,581,000 gallons
1908	1,254,000 "	1911	1,559,000 "
1909	1,177,000 "	1912	1,835,000 "

The increase for the six years is 627,000, being 51 per cent.

Sierra Leone

1907	420,000 gallons	1910	413,000 gallons
1908	305,000 "	1911	457,000 "
1909	303,000 "	1912	626,000 "

Here the increase for the six years is 206,000 gallons, being 49 per cent."

ORDINANCE BY MOSHESH AGAINST THE INTRODUCTION AND SALE OF
INTOXICANTS

"Whereas the spirituous liquors of the whites were unknown to former generations of our tribe, Matie, and Motlomi until Bomonageng,—and our father Mokhachane, now very advanced in age, has never used any other drink than water and milk; and whereas we deem that a good Chief and Judge cannot claim to be competent to execute his duties, if he make use of anything of an intoxicating nature; and whereas spirituous liquors create quarrelling and strife, and pave the way to the destruction of society (for surely the spirituous liquors of the whites are nothing else than fire):

"It is therefore hereby made known to all, that the introduction and sale of said spirituous liquor within Basutoland is henceforth prohibited, and provided any person, whether white or coloured, contravene this order, the spirits shall be taken from him and poured out on the ground, without excuse or indemnification.

"And this order shall be printed in the Sesuto and Dutch languages, and posted up at the places of public meetings, and in the villages of the Basuto.

"Given with the advice and concurrence of the great men of our Tribe, by us the Chief of the Basutos, at Thaba Bosigo, the 8th of November, 1854.

"(Signed) Moshesh, Chief."

PROCLAMATION OF MOSHESH AGAINST WITCHCRAFT

As regards witchcraft and sorcery, to which Moshesh in common with the great mass was supposed to be firmly wedded, it is related that in a fit of humour he once ordered a trusty attendant secretly to conceal a weapon he

²² These statistics are taken from the Native Races Committee, 28th Annual Report, pp. 26-9. (Quoted in MacDonald, A. J., "Trade, Politics and Christianity in Africa and the East.")

²³ Lagden, Sir Godfrey, "The Basutos," p. 300.

was particularly partial to and then sent a herald first to proclaim the loss, then to call upon the great Medicine men to "throw the bones" and divine the thief. They set to work in earnest, and as was customary, named or "smelt out" as the thieves certain individuals inimical either to the craft or to the Chief. He then informed them that he had designedly hidden the weapon in order that he might prove the mockery of their profession. The story is easy of credit, for as will be seen from another quaint proclamation, he forbade the practice of witchcraft under severe penalties:—

PROCLAMATION BY MOSHESH

"Thaba Bosigo, 27th August, 1855.

"The word of Moshesh on witchcraft—I am Moshesh, I write to my people and say to them: you remember that formerly when any one resorted to the witch, the public heard of it, that it was well known before anything was done, and that one would go far to consult the wizard, even to Zululand.

"But at the present day witches abound among the Basutos, and it is our people, sitting quietly, see one come unexpectedly to announce that some man has been killed on the word of the witch, and sometimes also that many have been killed, though the public be ignorant of the time and cause for having resorted to the enchanter. These wizards are wild dreamers, they ought to be brought together, and one propose them this hard question as a text: The lung sickness, where does it come from, destroying flocks everywhere throughout our land? Where has it originated? When shall it end, and what time, that plague which covers the whole earth? That would be a question worth putting to witches. Instead of this, they are only told of a man that is ill, and upon this some one is killed. It is generally known that these men are mere dreamers of fantastic imaginations. . . .

"At Mokhachane's people do not resort to the witch, neither at Moshesh's, nor at Letsie's, nor Poshudi's, Mogalic, Ramanela, Molape, Masupha or Moperi. But in the smaller towns, people go to the witch constantly, making of this custom a sort of gametrap (profitable trade); let that trap ensnare them, and no one will have pity on them.

"However the people must be told of it first, that they may know of it beforehand; they have heard of Mpatsi, how he has lately killed Ramothibila.²⁴ No one is to suppose, that though a rare thing, sentence of death is not passed among us when a man kills another (and who knows but Mpatsi was insane?). Now, when any one is killed in a case of witchcraft, the murderer will be most severely judged and sentenced to death. This word is for public information, and will stand as law, and is assented to by Letsie, by all my brothers, and by all men in the tribe, who spit on the lie of witchcraft, and cover its face with their spittle.

"Mark X of Moshesh, Chief of the Basutos."²⁵

²⁴ Ramothibila was killed, on the word of the witch, and the murderer, Mpatsi, sentenced to death by Chief Letsie.

²⁵ Lagden, Sir Godfrey, "The Basutos," I, 301-2.

THE LAW FOR TRADE

"Bethesda, 6th September, 1859.

"I Moshesh, write for any trader, whoever he may be, already in my land, and for any who may come to trade with the Basutos; my word is this:

"Trade to me and my Tribe is a good thing; I wish to promote it.

"Any trader who wishes to establish a shop, must first obtain permission from me. Should he build a house, I grant him no right to sell it. Further, I do not grant him liberty to plough the fields, but only to plant a small vegetable garden. The trader who fancies that the place he is sojourning in belongs to him, must dismiss the thought; if not, he is to quit; for there is no place belonging to the whites in my land, and I have granted no white man a place, either by word, or by writing. Further, any trader who leaves a debt there from whence he comes, and he who contracts any whilst in my land, any such debt, if brought to me, I will inquire into, in our Court of Justice, that I may settle it; and the debt will be paid up in the manner the Basutos pay their debts. But the suer is to appear before me, and the debtor likewise, that justice may be done. . . .

"Mark X of Moshesh, Chief of the Basutos." "

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW IN REGARD TO RELATIONS OF CIVILIZED STATE
TO ABORIGINES (SESSIONS AT LAUSANNE, 1888)

Article I. The occupation of a territory under title of sovereignty can be recognized as effective only in case it fulfills the following conditions:

1. The taking of possession of a territory comprised within certain limits, the act being done in the name of the government;
2. The official notification of the taking of possession. The taking of possession is to be effected by the establishment of a local responsible government provided with means sufficient for maintaining order and assuring the regular exercise of its authority within the limits of the occupied territory. These means may be borrowed from the institutions existing in the occupied country. The notification of the taking of possession is made either by publication in the form used by each State for notification of its official acts, or through diplomatic channels. It will contain an approximate determination of the limits of the territory occupied.

Article II. The rules stated in the above article are applicable to the case where a power, without assuming the entire sovereignty of a territory, and maintaining with or without restrictions the administrative autonomy of the aboriginal tribes, shall place the territory under its "protectorate."

Article III. . . .

"Lagden, Sir Godfrey, "The Basutos," I, 304.

Article IV. All wars of extermination of aboriginal tribes, all useless severities, and all tortures are forbidden, even by way of reprisals.

Article V. In the territories had in view by the present declaration, the local authority will respect or will cause to be respected all rights, especially of private property, as well of the aborigines as of foreigners, and including both individual and collective rights.

Article VI. The local authority has the duty of watching over the conservation of the aboriginal populations, their education, and the amelioration of their moral and material condition. It will favor and protect, without distinction of nationality, all the private institutions and enterprises created and organized for the purpose, under the reserve that the political interests of the occupying or protecting State shall not be compromised or menaced by the actions or tendencies of these institutions and enterprises.

Article VII. Liberty of conscience is guaranteed to the aborigines, as well as to the nationals of the colonizing State, and to foreigners. The exercise of all the forms of religious faith shall not be subjected to any restriction or hindrance; provided, however, that practices contrary to the laws of morality and of humanity shall be prohibited.

Article VIII. The local authority shall make preparations for the abolition of slavery. The sale or the employment of slaves for domestic service, by others than aborigines, shall be immediately forbidden.

Article IX. The slave trade shall be forbidden in the whole extent of the territories had in view by the present declaration. These territories shall not be used as markets, nor ways of transit, for the sale of slaves; and the most rigorous measures shall be taken against those who engage in the traffic or are interested in it. The introduction and the internal commerce in *cangues* and other instruments of torture for use by proprietors of slaves shall be prevented.

Article X. The sale of intoxicating liquors shall be regulated so as to preserve the aboriginal populations from the evils resulting from their abuse."

CHARTER OF PROTECTION

"Charter of Protection Granted to the German Colonization Society for certain Acquisitions of Territory made by it on the South-east Coast of Africa between the Territory of the Sultan of Zanzibar and Lake Tanganyika. Berlin, 17th February, 1885."

"We, William, by the Grace of God, German Emperor, King of Prussia, make known and ordain as follows:

^a Lehr, E., "Tableau général de l'Institut de Droit International," pp. 145-7.

"The present Presidents of the Society for German Colonisation, Dr. Karl Peters, and our Chamberlain Felix, Count Behr-Bandelin, having sought our protection for the territorial acquisitions of the Society in East Africa, west of the Empire of the Sultan of Zanzibar, and outside of the suzerainty of other Powers, and the Treaties lately concluded by the said Dr. Karl Peters with the Rulers of Usagara, Nguru, Useguha, and Ukami in November and December last, by which these territories have been ceded to him for the German Colonial Society with sovereign rights over the same, having been laid before us, with the Petition to place these territories under our Suzerainty, we hereby declare that we have accepted the Suzerainty, and have placed under our Imperial protection the territories in question, reserving to ourselves a right of deciding hereafter respecting any further acquisitions in the same district which may be proved to have been obtained by legal contract by the Society or by their legitimate successors.

"We grant unto the said Society, on the condition that it remains German, and that the members of the Board of Directors or other persons entrusted with its management are subjects of the German Empire, as well as to the legitimate successors of this Society under the same conditions, the authority to exercise all rights arising from the Treaties submitted to us, including that of jurisdiction over both the natives and the subjects of Germany and of other nations established in those territories, or sojourning there for commercial or other purposes, under the superintendence of our Government, subject to further regulations to be issued by us, and supplementary additions to this our Charter of Protection.

"In witness whereof we have with our Royal hand executed this Charter of Protection, and have caused it to be sealed with our Imperial seal.

"Given at Berlin the 17th February, 1885.

"*v. Bismarck.*"

"William." "

TREATY CONCLUDED BY DR. PETERS WITH THE CHIEFTAIN OF MSOVERO

The treaty concluded with the chieftain of Msovero may be quoted as a sample of the treaties secured by Dr. Peters:

"Mungungo, Sultan of Msovero in Usagara, and Dr. Karl Peters, Sultan Mungungo simultaneously for all his people and Dr. Peters for all his present and future associates, hereby conclude a Treaty of eternal friendship.

"Mungungo offers all his territory with all its civil and public appurtenances to Dr. Karl Peters, as the representative of the Society for German Colonisation, for the exclusive and universal utilisation for German colonisation.

"Dr. Karl Peters, in the name of the Society for German Colonisation, declares his willingness to take over the territory of the Sultan Mungungo with all rights for German colonisation, subject to any existing suzerainty rights (Oberhoheitsrechte) of Mwenyi Sagara.

"The above is the translation of the text of the Charter contained in Hertslet's "Map of Africa by Treaty," vol. I, 303-4.

"In pursuance thereof, Sultan Mangungo hereby cedes all the territory of Msovero, belonging to him by inheritance or otherwise, for all time, to Dr. Karl Peters, making over to him at the same time all his rights. Dr. Karl Peters, in the name of the Society for German Colonisation, undertakes to give special attention to Msovero when colonising Usagara.

"This Treaty has been communicated to the Sultan Mangungo by the Interpreter Ramazan in a clear manner, and has been signed by both sides with the observation of the formalities valid in Usagara, the Sultan on direct inquiry having declared that he was not in any way dependent upon the Sultan of Zanzibar, and that he did not even know of the existence of the latter.

"(Signed) Dr. Karl Peters.

Signature of Mangungo.

"This contract has been executed legally and made valid for all time before a great number of witnesses, we testify herewith.

"Kungakimiga, his mark

Sultan Mangungo's Son, of Galola, ditto.

Sultan Mangungo's Second Son of Draman, ditto.

Graf Pfeil

August Otto

And marks of the Interpreter Ramazan and others.

Dr. Karl Juhlke

"Msovero, Usagara, November 29, 1884."²⁰

NATIVE COURTS IN FRENCH TROPICAL AFRICA

"The native courts are also arranged hierarchically. They comprise (1) village courts consisting of the chief, who may give decisions in civil and commercial matters if submitted to him, but whose decisions are not binding on the parties; (2) the courts of the subdivisions, composed of a native president and two native assessors with deliberative voices, selected by the head of the colony on the recommendation of the head of the division: these courts have full civil and commercial jurisdiction, and criminal jurisdiction in such matters as are not reserved to the tribunals of the divisions, subject to appeal to these tribunals; (3) divisional tribunals, consisting of the chief civil officer, assisted by two native assessors with consultative voices only. The divisional tribunal hears appeals from the courts of the subdivision in all civil and commercial matters, and from decisions in criminal cases of a grave character, including murder, dangerous wounding, pillage, arson, kidnapping, poisoning of wells, and mutilations; it has also an exclusive criminal jurisdiction in respect of offences of slave-dealing, crimes committed by native Government agents or against them in the exercise of their duties, crimes committed by soldiers in union with non-soldiers, usurpation of Government authority, offences against regulations affecting matters specially assigned to these courts, and offences against the safety of the State; and (4) a special section of the

²⁰ Quoted in Lewin, Evans, "The Germans and Africa," p. 173.

Court of Appeal, composed of three councillors, two officials, and two natives, charged with the duties of homologation and annulment. Any decision of the inferior courts may be submitted to it by the Procurator-General; and it deals also with every sentence of over five years' imprisonment or in respect of a slave-trade offence, pronounced by the divisional tribunals, and with sentences exceeding six months' imprisonment or 500 francs fine imposed on native Government agents.

"The native courts apply native law: in cases where the parties are subject to different laws they follow the law of the place of conclusion in respect of contracts (including marriage), and in respect of question of status that of the defendant's tribe. The penalties allowed are death, imprisonment for life or for a term not exceeding twenty years, banishment for the same period, and fines; penalties for breach of contract are permitted if in accord with native law. Europeans who have disputes with natives may submit themselves to the courts, in which case native law is applied. These rules are subject to modification both in Senegal and in certain portions of Upper Senegal and the Niger, in the Niger Territory, and in Mauretania. . . ."^a

^a Lugard, Sir F. D., "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," pp. 568-9.

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* Note: The abbreviation J. A. I. is used throughout to indicate The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

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